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ABSTRACT

This series of fifteen reports reviews available information on youth employment program experience. (It constitutes the third of a three-volume compendium: other volumes examine the causes and dimensions of youth employment problems and cover special needs and problems of youth employment policy--see note.) The youth employment delivery system, lessons from program experience, and practitioners' perspectives on youth programs are discussed in the first three reports. The next four reports examine the role and effectiveness of public sector job creation for youth and youth access to private sector jobs. Practical alternatives for providing educational remedies to the unemployment of poor youth and approaches to basic education are described. The philosophy of occupational training and ten successful programs are discussed in a pair of reports on training and motivating youth. A conceptual framework for supportive services and the relationship between alternative education and youth employment are set forth. City Schools that are instructionally effective for poor children are identified, and analysed in the final report. (MN)

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ED195666

e Vice President's Task Force on Youth Employment

a review of youth employment problems, programs & policies:

Volume 3

PROGRAM EXPERIENCE

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH,
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FORWARD

Youth employment is the most pressing manpower challenge facing the country today. All unemployment is wasteful, but when it is concentrated among youth, as is presently the case, it has particular human, social, and economic consequences. It implies not only a current loss of valuable resources, but also lost returns on human capital investments which will doubtless extend well into the future.

Despite the fact that the Carter Administration has put more people to work since 1976 than in any 3-year period since World War II, including the largest-scale targeted effort for youth in history, the problem of youth unemployment remains severe. A few examples highlight this fact:

- Despite a significant reduction in adult unemployment in recent years, similar gains have not been enjoyed by younger Americans.
- Young people 16 through 24 have accounted for nearly one-half of all unemployed persons in the last five years.
- Although Federal youth programs have significantly increased employment among black teens over the past 2 years, at least 400,000 minority teenagers remain unemployed.
- While the unemployment rate for white teenagers has remained constant at about 13 percent over the past 25 years, the unemployment rate for black teenagers has grown from 17 to 36 percent.

In order to address this challenge of youth unemployment, President Carter directed a full-scale review of Federal youth programs under the leadership of Vice President Walter F. Mondale. The aim was to develop youth policies for the 1980's which would make the best use of scarce resources and institutional capacities in meeting this challenge. A Vice President's Task Force on Youth Employment was created and, working closely with the White House Domestic Policy staff, it conducted a comprehensive review throughout 1979.

The review process, characterized by The New York Times as "the most exhaustive ever," had several dimensions. Fourteen Federal agencies with youth programs participated, submitting a massive array of information on universe of need, program experiences and recommendations.

Groups outside the government were involved through a range of private meetings, seminars, roundtables, but especially through a series of conferences on issues critical to the youth unemployment program - inner-city problems, the work-education connection, the problems of special needs groups, Job Corps, and the role of nonprofit and community-based groups.

Finally, the Vice President's Task Force on Youth Employment commissioned a range of academic experts and practioners to present analyses of key policy issues and program experiences.

This compendium is drawn from the submissions of the 14 Federal agencies, from the background papers utilized in the various conferences, and from the analyses developed by experts and practitioners. It is divided into three segments: First, analyses of the overall magnitude and causes of youth employment problems; second, more detailed investigations of special dimensions such as race,location, and the other barriers to employment experienced by subsegments of youth population and third, assessments of program experiences.

This compendium provides the informational base for the recommendations of the Vice President's Task Force on Youth Employment. The views are, however, those of the authors, who were consciously selected to achieve a balanced range of perspectives and expertise.

The Department of Labor's Office of Youth Programs, which provided the financial support for the Vice President's Task Force, was responsible for editing and overviewing the papers in this compendium. It is important to stress, however, that the policy review effort and the analysis process involved all Federal agencies and a multiplicity of viewpoints. In editing this evidence, care has been taken to retain this breadth of perspective.

As might be expected, the scope of the subject yields a variety of recommendations. There is not always unanimity of opinion. But the entire review process, as well as this compendium of papers, has increased the consensus that youth employment problems are serious, that current programs are useful but can be improved, and most critically that we have the resources, the knowledge, and the will to substantially eliminate youth employment problems in the 1980's.

Thomas Glynn
Director
Vice President's Task Force
on Youth Employment

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OVERVIEW

Almost everyone agrees that there is a serious youth employment problem and that something must be done. Yet, there is equally widespread agreement that we lack understanding of the causes, consequences and cures--knowledge which is necessary for effective action. As one editorial put it, we have spent $40 billion on youth employment and employability development over the last 15 years, yet the problem remains and we do not even know what works and what does not. The Youth Employment and Demonstration Projects Act (YEDPA) of 1977 reflected this ambivalence. It provided significant resources to expand employment and training opportunities for youth. Indeed, it accounted for almost all the employment growth for minority teenagers in the last two years. Yet, this was a "demonstration Act," premised on the notion that we needed to experiment and evaluate further before committing ourselves to permanent policies.

Under YEDPA, a structured battery of social experiments have been implemented to carefully test every possible intervention and approach. New data bases have been generated to learn more about youth problems and a range of research studies have been undertaken to synthesize all possible knowledge from existing information. Because of the timeframes necessary to mount such efforts and analyze the results, significant findings are only now beginning to be produced and the output will continue for years. Hence, many feel that it is still premature to move forward in the development of youth policies for the 1980s.

Without minimizing the importance of further knowledge development in order to fine-tune public policies, one might question this conventional wisdom that we lack the basis for policy formulation. There are more data available on the youth employment issue than almost any other social welfare subject. Thousands of careful experiments have been conducted on all aspects of the problem over the last decade. Evaluations and analyses can fill a fair-sized library. Compared with our understanding of other domestic issues--the problems of older persons, of family status and change, of undocumented workers, of wealth distribution, or countless other subjects--we have quite comprehensive knowledge about youth employment. There was one year in the 1960s, for instance, when the Congressional hearings on the Job Corps were more voluminous than those on the entire defense budget.

It would appear that the problem is not the volume or even quality of information on the subject of youth employment, but rather the failure to translate and synthesize this information for public policy formulation. Rather than a knowledge deficit, there is, if anything, a knowledge and information overload. The greater the inquiry into any social science area, the more complex the subject becomes, the more questions are raised, and the less satisfying the answers because they are always subject to equivocation. Youth employment is also a confoundingly interrelated subject. It does not just concern jobs. It involves education, family status, developmental patterns, and much much more. The problems of youth unemployment are intertwined with economic changes, the welfare problem, illegitimacy, drug abuse, inadequate schools, declining cities and almost every other social pathology. Any discussion tends to quickly lose focus and to be impervious to resolution because there are so many perspectives which can be and have been applied to the same information.

What do we really need to make policy? First, there must be general consensus about the size of the problem and whether, in competition with other issues, it deserves priority. Second, the resource commitments must be determined in light of these needs and current efforts. Third, the underlying approaches must be decided, but not in great detail since there must always be a multiplicity of strategies for the diverse real-life circumstances. Fourth, the target groups must be decided based on needs and, fifth, the delivery approaches must be determined based on program experience. Legislation must establish a framework in which improvements can be made and knowledge translated into action as it is learned. In other words, what is required is not extraordinarly detailed information, but rather consensus from a balanced review of the information which is already available. In the case of youth, the problem in achieving consensus is not that there is too little information but too much to absorb and integrate.

The purpose of the Vice President's Task Force on Youth Employment was to review available information, to take stock of the viewpoints and interests of a broad range of citizens and institutions, and to provide a forum for constructive interchange on the issue. The analytical activities were only one component in this consensus-building effort. Further, the analysis did not seek to plow new ground, but rather to reap the harvest which had already been sowed.

This compendium of papers represents a bountiful harvest. The first set of analyses addresses the causes and dimensions of the youth employment problem. The second set takes a more detailed look at the severe dimensions of the problem and the special needs among youth. The third set reviews the experience of employment and training as well as educational programs.

While the authors approach their subjects from a variety of perspectives, and synthesize a diverse array of other studies, it is significant that certain themes and findings are repeated. There is a good deal of consistency between the papers and their conclusions. For instance, the papers analyzing causes, consequences and dimensions tend to agree on the following:

1. The youth employment problem, as defined by almost any measure, has a gradient of severity such that many youth with statistically identified problems may have limited needs while others have very concentrated needs. Most youth suffer some period of unemployment which in most cases is not consequential. Subdividing by duration of unemployment, race, low income, poverty area residence, sex, childbearing out of wedlock and dropout status, increases the average severity of conditions of those in the defined universe of need, although it also increases the number with real need who are not included. The major variables in need definition are known, and data are available to measure the dimensions, so that need definition is really a matter of assumptions, i.e., how severe the average needs of the defined universe must be to justify action.

2. The analyses suggest that the severity gradient according to most measures is probably increasing. The severe problems are growing worse both relatively and absolutely. Racial disparities are increasing. Youth from poor families are increasingly worse off relative to those from rich families. The proportion of weeks of unemployment accounted for by long-term unemployed youth is rising.

3. The youth problem is not likely to recede without action. Slowing growth of the youth cohort will reduce competition for jobs, but there is apparently increased segmentation by race and the minority segments of the youth population will continue to grow rapidly. Educational attainment gains in the last decade have not improved the situation and are now leveling off. Increased equality for minority adults has not "trickled down" to minority youth. Private sector employment has grown rapidly in the last several years but the expansion of public programs provided most of the jobs for minority teenagers; the recession ahead looms as a depression for disadvantaged youth.

4. There is increasing evidence concerning the long-run implications of teenage joblessness. Those who work as teenagers do better as young adults. Likewise, those with training, education and labor market information, have more stable and remunerative employment as adults. Youth joblessness is related to juvenile delinquency and other pathologies.

5. The problems of young teenagers differ significantly from those of youth in their early twenties. Teen employment needs are completely different from career entry employment needs. Race is another variable. The black and Hispanic employment experience, on the average, is worlds apart from that of white youth.

6. Teenage employment problems are intimately related to schooling. If offered the opportunity, the vast majority of older teenagers will combine education and work. A substantial portion of racial employment differentials is among students rather than dropouts. Work and education coordination is more than a conceptual theme--it is a practical necessity driven by the reality of increased labor force participation among students.

7. Employment becomes an increasingly significant factor over the teen years and a major one by the twenties, but it is a less significant dimension of the life of youth than for adults. Focus on jobs, training and labor market information needs should not minimize the parallel needs for support, positive development opportunities and constructive options. In other words, jobs must be interrelated with the overall developmental process. We know much more about employment status and change than we do about the related dimensions of development.

8. There is increasing consensus that supply explanations for youth employment problems may not be as relevant as demand explanations. Those who would explain away youth unemployment, and particularly minority youth unemployment, by high turnover, volatility, seasonality of employment or lack of values are hard-pressed to support this claim for more than the tail of the severity gradient. Where jobs are available, youth fill them. Many of the alleged supply-side shortfalls such as lack of dependability or awareness of job mores are simply the cumulation of stunted past opportunities. Supply variables affect the rationing of opportunities much more than the level. In the central cities and poverty areas, the problem is not basically the inadequacy of individuals but the shortage of opportunities.

The analyses of the problems of "significant segments" of the youth population provide some major policy findings:

1. There is no simple explanation for the employment problems of minorities. Regression equations find countless explanative variables and yet still leave large portions of the differentials unexplained. The unexplained residual is frequently ascribed to discrimination. For blacks, half of the variable in teenage unemployment is unexplained. This does not mean that if two youths of equal credentials show up for a job, dressed the same way and with the same references, that the black youth has half the chance of being employed. Rather, every aspect of the experience will differ for the black--they will live where there are fewer jobs, their job finding network will be less effective, they are likely to have less experience and fewer references for that experience. Only a small proportion of employers must practice outright discrimination to magnify these differentials.

2. There are important differences between the employment problems of black and Hispanic youth, or more correctly, between blacks and Chicanos (since Puerto Rican youth more closely parallel the problems of blacks). While Hispanics are also the victims of employment discrimination, their problem is much more one of inadequate education and career entry rather than a lack of "aging vat" jobs. In practice, the problems of minorities are so serious that they call for more of everything, but the relative mix should emphasize education to a greater extent for Chicano youth.

3. The employment problems of young females receive inadequate attention. Young women with children are largely ignored by public employment and training programs until their children reach the age of 3. By every measure, female teenagers with or without children face lower probabilities of employment than males. There has been some relative improvement in the last decade, and increased labor force participation. Equity would require a greater emphasis on young women's problems.

4. Youth with employment problems are drawn disproportionally from those with social adjustment problems reflected in drug abuse and crime. The physically and mentally handicapped suffer compound problems. Their employment problems, in turn, complicate other difficulties. The relationships are not straightforward. Jobs do not eliminate crime or drug abuse, but they are certainly one necessary ingredient.

5. Central city and poverty area problems are extremely severe, although they do not "leap out" from available data. It is when multiple and long-term problems are considered, as well as those that are hidden by discouragement or compounded by social pathology, that the needs clearly emerge.

6. Addressing more severe problems costs more money. The methods for allocating scarce resources are a primary focus in the analyses of the problems of subsegments of the youth population and of areas with concentrated needs. A compelling case can be made for meeting each of the special needs, and the difficult choice is to balance this case against the needs of other youth who do not fall in designated categories. It would appear, however, that greater geographic targeting, individual targeting by race, and efforts concentrated on females, young parents, and troubled youth are needed.

The papers analyzing employment and training experiences as well as the success of educational programs are diverse but they share some basic messages:

1. Employment, training and education programs can work and probably are working better than the gainsayers claim. Increased education does pay off in the labor market. Job Corps is cost-effective as a comprehensive development program for those most in need. Employment programs produce useful social products and increased work is correlated with higher future earnings. There is diversity in performance but there are consistent elements in the successful programs.

2. No strategy works for everyone, and perhaps the biggest shortcoming is not in the institutions and what they offer but in not being able to steer individuals to the appropriate institutions and offerings in a reasonable fashion.

3. Many of the shortcomings of the programs are straightforward but ignored in seeking "panaceas." For instance, employment and training programs suffer extraordinarily from instability but we continue to fund them year-to-year. Alternative education approaches clearly make sense for a minority of youth but the resources and flexibility are not provided. We give into the pressure to spread limited resources broadly, and then decry the lack of measurable impacts. Income maintenance goals have been used as an excuse for slack worksite and training standards even though this has questionable value to youth or society. Supportive services and longer duration treatment are needed for youth with the most severe problems, but we tend to judge these efforts by the same standards applied to other programs. We continue to avoid the straightforward steps such as multi-year funding and less reliance on the income maintenance approach which would lead to improved programs.

4. The basic problem is not in identifying what works, but in replicating the positive approaches. We continue to experiment looking for answers when in fact there are many success stories and the issue should be how we can increase their incidence. Improvements are possible in most programs if the effort and resources are available. Again, the shortcomings are usually quite pedestrian and the problem is in motivating individuals and institutions rather than finding the ideal approach. Models are really most effective when they are part of a process of change which has a firm foundation.

5. Institutional cooperation is possible where the incentives are properly structured. Likewise, institutions can benefit from involvement of parents, the private sector, unions and the like as well as cross-fertilization.

The volume and diversity of these papers and their findings suggest the obvious--that youth employment is a complex subject with many dimensions, that there is no simple cause or cure, and that public policy cannot be directed with scientific precision. Yet, there is also uniformity in the conclusions: The cluster of youth employment problems is, indeed, severe. The most serious dimensions and special needs groups are identifiable. The alternative approaches have been explored and there is general consensus about what makes sense as well as improvements which can be made. In other words, there is a reasonably sound conceptual foundation for youth employment policies. Information produced by knowledge development activities under the Youth Employment and Demonstration Projects Act should provide the means to fine-tune approaches, particularly at the local level, and to better meet special needs, but they are unlikely to yield any startling findings which will supplant what is already known. The fine points can be debated forever, but basically we know what needs to be done to address the youth employment problem. It is time to move ahead based on what we know rather than continuously redefining what is unknown or unknowable. There is a problem and we understand generally how to ameliorate it. We must now build the consensus for action. This compendium of papers is an important step in that direction.

Brian Linder
Robert Taggart
Editors

THE YOUTH EMPLOYMENT DELIVERY SYSTEM

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The youth employment delivery system is a loose collection of organizations whose operations affect youth access to the labor force. These organizations include federal, state, and local educational agencies, regional vocational schools, alternative schools, Department of Labor (DOL) national and regional offices, local governmental units that function as CETA prime sponsors, CETA program operators, and public and private employers. The term 'delivery system' is something of a misnomer, insofar as it denotes a coordinated array of services addressed to a common problem. The youth employment delivery system seldom functions in a completely integrated way. But 'delivery system' is still a useful term because it calls attention to the fact that a major objective of federal youth employment policy is to coordinate youth employment services and to make them more accessible and intelligible to young people.

This paper states the major delivery system problems, policy objectives, and options facing legislative and executive decisionmakers in the current reauthorization of the Youth Employment Demonstration and Projects Act of 1977 (YEDPA). It also provides a framework for assessing delivery system options, drawn from current policy research on the implementation of federal education and youth employment policy.

Prior to YEDPA, the targeting of federal employment and training funds on young people was largely the responsibility of local CETA prime sponsors. By singling out youth for special attention the federal government was attempting to serve several purposes:

- Raising the national visibility of youth employment problems;
- Focusing the attention of youth employment service deliverers on the development of new techniques for moving young people into the labor force;
- Providing incentives for youth-serving organizations to work together on the range of problems affecting youth employment; and
- Increasing the access of unemployed youth to services designed to increase their employability.

The process by which young people move from unemployment to employment and from one kind of job to another is influenced by a complex web of factors: family, individual attributes, labor market structure, schools and employment training of one kind or another. We know very little about how these factors work, in concert or in conflict, to affect youth access to employment. Focusing on delivery system problems -- as opposed, say, to treating youth employment purely as a problem of labor economics -- helps us understand how federal policy influences the array of institutions that operate on young people as they move into the labor force.

Delivery System Problems and Objectives

The following inventory of problems grows largely out of the relatively brief experience of service deliverers with the implementation of YEDPA. With less than two years to respond to the federal mandate, most people involved in YEDPA see the program as being in its earliest formative stages. The problems that have emerged are in many ways characteristic of the initial stages of local responses to new federal policy.

The two most critical actors in the youth employment arena are local educational agencies (LEAs) and the local CETA network of prime sponsors and program operators. CETA-LEA relations can be thought of in two ways: First, as a problem of meshing two independent bureaucracies, and second, as a problem of presenting the most intelligible, well-organized delivery mechanism for services to unemployed youth. To date, most attention in YEDPA has been focused on the former problem: reconciling divergent planning and budgeting cycles, negotiating agreements allowing academic credit for work experience, dividing formal responsibility for program administration, etc. (Wurzburg, May 1979). While the formal meshing of the two systems may be a necessary condition for effective coordination, it is not a sufficient condition. Formal coordinating mechanisms function more often to reconcile the claims of competing bureaucracies than they do to simplify delivery systems and make them more intelligible to clients. Coordinating mechanisms are frequently intelligible only to the administrators who create them. The problem of how to make coordinated services more intelligible and accessible to unemployed youth requires more than formal solutions; it requires genuine inventive ability, based on a detailed understanding of delivery-level problems. In this regard, the knowledge of frontline service deliverers -- teachers, employment counselors, and project directors -- is more useful than the knowledge of higher-level administrators.

The major problems of coordination growing out of early implementation of YEDPA are as follows:

- Incentives to Coordinate. The only tangible incentives that the federal government has to offer to enhance local coordination are the 22% set-aside in the Youth Employment and Training Program (YETP) and the Secretary of Labor's special set-aside for exemplary programs. Several weaknesses have become apparent in the use of these incentives: the most obvious one is that they are administered completely through the CETA system, so that local school systems are not inclined to take a high degree of ownership in coordinated efforts. Another major weakness is that material incentives have a weak effect relative to the strong political and bureaucratic forces that operate on LEAs and CETA programs at the local level. Finally, while there is only one LEA for the prime to deal with, there is no incentive for the LEA to cooperate with the CETA system because they will automatically receive the set-aside. (Wurzburg, May 1979, 6-11)

- CETA-LEA Competition. Federal incentives are working against a long tradition of competition and animosity between manpower service deliverers and school systems. Manpower people see themselves as coping with the school system's failures: dropouts, in-school youth who are ill-prepared to enter the work-force, and disadvantaged youth who have had difficulty getting access to vocational education programs. School people, on the other hand, criticize youth employment programs for their narrow focus on job-entry at the expense of broader educational objectives; for their willingness to reward youth who have failed to meet the school system's standards of performance; and for their focus on disadvantaged youth at the expense of the general youth population. One sign of this distrust is duplicative programming. CETA program operators often run basic skills and high school equivalency programs on the assumption that youth who have been pushed out of school can't be expected to go back to acquire skills. School systems run career awareness and work experience programs on the assumption that these programs work better when they are complimented by academic work. Another sign of distrust is pro forma coordination. Each party agrees to perform some specialized task in isolation from the other. School personnel will offer a special high school equivalency course off-campus. CETA program operators will agree to accept a certain quota of in-school youth. The net effect of coordination in the presence of distrust is a basically unintelligible, disjointed, and inaccessible delivery system.

- Separate Lines of Accountability. Local CETA programs, though accountable to local political jurisdictions, are still creatures of the federal government. The whole CETA system, from top to bottom, is funded with federal money. The educational system, on the other hand, is largely locally-based. State educational agencies (SEAs) have formal constitutional authority for education, but in fact exercise very weak influence at the local level. The federal government controls only 8-10% of the revenues spent on education, and must rely on indirect leveraging of local resources to have an effect on school practice. Local CETA personnel and local school personnel owe their loyalties to different constituencies -- CETA people to city and county governments and to DOL regional and national program administrators; school people to local school boards and neighborhood constituencies. In the CETA system political feasibility is judged by what is acceptable to federal program officers and local government. In the school system, it is judged by particularistic community standards and by the values of school board members and local professionals.

If we assume that the primary objective of CETA-LEA coordination is to make the delivery system more intelligible and accessible to unemployed youth, and only secondarily to mesh the formal administrative machinery of the two systems, then the primary objective should be the creation of jointly-run, non-duplicative, highly-visible services at the delivery level. Formal administrative coordination, pro forma cooperation, and complex procedures for client intake and referral should not be taken as evidence of delivery system integration. From this perspective, the most important problem of CETA-LEA cooperation is how to bring CETA personnel and school personnel together at the point where services pass from the provider to the recipient. Given the level of competition and conflict that has existed between the two systems in the past, this is an extraordinarily difficult problem requiring an extensive, long-term investment in training, program development, and knowledge-sharing among front-line service deliverers. The cost of failing will be measured in lost opportunities to youth stemming from the inaccessibility, complexity, and remoteness of the delivery system.

Focusing strictly on CETA-LEA coordination as a means of improving the delivery system leaves out an important element. The CETA-LEA connection conceals an enormous diversity of youth employment service deliverers. Indeed, the CETA-LEA connection only provides an administrative umbrella under which a large variety of deliverers operate. Some deliverers are large, nationally based organizations (e.g., SER, OIC, Urban League), some are community-based organizations whose roots date back to pre-CETA manpower and community action programs, and some are extensions of the local school system (e.g., vocational, career awareness, and drop-out prevention programs). In addition to these well-established deliverers, YEDPA funds support a number of small, marginal operations (alternative schools, neighborhood youth programs, youth advocacy groups, and youth-run enterprises) whose members don't consider themselves part of the established education or employment training system. These small organizations are often relatively inexperienced in dealing with federal regulations, strongly committed to a specific clientele and a set of program ideas, and nontraditional in their approaches to youth problems.

This diversity of service delivery organizations is both an asset and a liability. On the one hand it means that, where the full range of organizations exists, young people are presented with a broad array of choices. Diversity also introduces some amount of flexibility, adaptability, and competition into local programming, which under most conditions means a closer fit between the needs of young people and the programs available. The basic arguments for preserving and enhancing diversity in youth employment services are, first, that young people come to the system with a wide variety of attributes and needs, second, that our limited understanding of youth employment requires trial and testing of a variety of approaches, and third, that offering young peole some degree of choice in the selection services enhances the likelihood that service deliverers will try harder to understand their clientele and young people will take the service seriously.

On the other hand, diversity has certain disadvantages. It makes management more difficult. Explaining program objectives, accounting for funds, and tracking performance at the local level become increasingly difficult as the number and variety of deliverers increases. Diversity might also make the delivery system more difficult for young people to understand, access, and use to their advantage. Program variety often only creates confusion, yet young people have to understand the system to make judgments about which services best meet their needs.

Entrepreneurship is the other side of consumer choice. Effective choice can not be said to exist if the range of providers is restricted to a few well-established organizations. The more difficult it is for marginal providers to enter the delivery system, the less meaning diversity and choice have for young people.

A number of factors in the existing delivery system operate against choice and entrepreneurship:

- Reassertion of Federal Control. The original CETA legislation promised substantial delegation of administrative responsibility from the federal to the local level. The implementation of CETA has been characterized, to some degree, by an erosion of delegated responsibility and a reassertion of federal control. (Mirengoff and Rindler, 1978, 87ff.) YEDPA seems to have produced a number of instances which run counter to the notion of delegated responsibility. Prime sponsors were told initially to plan for one expenditure level, then were told some months later to reduce that level by more than 25%. (Wurzburg, August 1978, 6) DOL regional offices have generally not played a constructive role in YEDPA implementation and have exercised heavy-handed approval authority over local decisions in a number of cases. (Wurzburg, February 1979, 40-42) All prime sponsors were required to compile inventories of youth programs in their areas which proved to be largely useless in local programming. (Wurzburg, August 1978, 37) Overall, there is little reason to suspect that the exercise of strong local discretion produces results inconsistent with major federal policy objectives in youth employment. The current enrollment of low-income, disadvantaged youth in YEDPA programs is considerably higher than the standard set in the law. (Wurzburg, August 1978, 31-35) Whatever the reason, reassertion of federal control brings with it a greater standardization of local programming and draws a greater fraction of local resources into activities whose major function is to demonstrate compliance with federal rules rather than to deliver services.

- Local Administrative Centralization. Largely in response to federal directives to improve CETA management, prime sponsors have increased their administrative control over program operators. Stronger local administrative control does make it easier for prime sponsors to demonstrate the consistency of their actions with federal objectives.

  But it also imposes real contraints on the diversity of local programming; it reduces local risk-taking, it imposes difficult administrative burdens on marginal operators, and it gives a substantial advantage to operators who have considerable experience dealing with prime sponsors, thereby locking out new service deliverers.

- Substituting Administrative Processes for Individual Choices.

  Coupled with increased administrative centralization is a tendency for local prime sponsors increasingly to assume responsibility for certain administrative functions affecting young people: intake, assessment, and tracking clients through the system. These seem like perfectly reasonable functions to perform centrally. But, in most instances, these functions have the effect of making individual clients depend upon professionals for the critical choices that determine their access to and progress through the system. It is virtually impossible for individual choice to exercise any influence in a system where all choices are centralized and standardized and where choices require the approval and concurrence of professionals. Often intake and assessment processes serve not to match the client with the best service but to allocate people to underenrolled providers, to 'cool-out' people whose aspirations are judged to be unrealistic, and to reduce the workload and uncertainty of administrators. (Lipsky, 1976).

If choice and entrepreneurship are important elements in the local youth employment delivery system, then there should be an explicit acknowledgment in federal policy of the trade-off between administrative control, on the one hand, and diversity, on the other. On a general level, this means that the federal policy objective should be to maintain diversity in local programming where it exists and create it where it doesn't. Where federal rules and administrative procedures work to the advantage of established providers and make it difficult for marginal providers to enter the delivery system, explicit steps should be taken either to remove the requirements or to provide special support to marginal providers. Federal interests lie primarily in directing local attention at national policy objectives, assuring financial accountability at the local level and in creating mechanisms for the exchange of information among localities. It is in the interest of neither the federal government nor localities for administrators to pursue actions that have the effect of standardizing or reducing the diversity of local programming. Federal and local attention should be directed at the development of local devices that maximize young peoples' choice in the selection of services and that assure that those choices are iformed. When management objectives conflict with choice objectives, local and federal administrators should err, if necessary, in the direction of choice.

The weakest link in the CETA system as a whole, and in the youth employment delivery system especially, is the connection between youth employment services and the private sector. Private employers seem generally to have adopted an arms-length posture toward youth employment program -- occasional token involvement in advisory groups, modest cooperation in work experience programs, and a generally critical view of the ability of schools to prepare young people with basic skills adequate for entry-level employment. Unions have been even more distant. The few outstanding cases of private sector linkages seem to have come about as a result of school system actions rather than CETA-initiated activities (Wurzburg, August 1978, 50; May 1979, 16). In one sense, this lack of connection between youth employment programs and private employers poses the most important strategic issue in youth employment policy. No matter how well the youth employment delivery system works in other respects, it fails if it canot move a large proportion of its products into the private sector work force. Two common explanations for the private sector linkage problem are:

- Work Incentives. Private employers have a generally weak and indirect interest in youth employment programs. Granting their general interest in having access to a large pool of skilled labor, most employers operating under normal labor supply conditions can meet their labor needs without becoming extensively involved with publicly subsidized employment and training programs. Direct subsidies to employers to accept the products of publicly subsidized programs raises the issue of preferential government subsidies to competing firms and of displacement of higher wage earners by subsidized labor. Considering the feasibility problems they raise, direct subsidies are not nearly as strong an incentive as they first appear to be. By far the strongest incentive for private sector participation is the one that is most difficult to demonstrate: the economic productivity of young employees. If it were possible to demonstrate concretely that, by involving themselves in youth employment programs, employers could realize significant gains in the marginal productivity of their work force, it seems unlikely that they would maintain their present arms-length posture. This suggests that the strongest incentives may not lie in direct payments to employers but rather in the employer's perception of the quality of the product.

- Marketability of Young People. Employers seem generally to regard young people as ill-prepared for labor force entry, both because they lack the basic skills necessary for job performance and because their attitudes and values make their assimilation into the work force more difficult. Some of this perception is based on fact, some on stereotyping. Employers may have a short-term economic incentive in systematically undervaluing the marginal productivity of young people; it provides them with a secondary labor force, useful in filling menial, high-turnover, non-career jobs. Whatever the explanation, some part of the problem of private sector linkages lies with the marketability of young people. It seems unlikely that this situation will change unless some way can be found for private sector employers to claim ownership of and identity with the products of the education and employment training system.

If one assumes that a major goal of federal youth employment policy is to move young people into unsubsidized employment, not to create a publicly-subsidized secondary labor market, then it makes sense to focus on measures that demonstrate the economic productivity of young people to private sector employers and that increase the marketability of young people for stable jobs in the primary labor force. This would seem to require a larger role in the design, implementation, and assessment of youth employment programs by private sector employers. But if the role of employers follows the current pattern of perfunctory, formal involvement, it seems unlikely that they will take the products of youth employment programs seriously. Federal policy, then, should aim at delivery-level involvement of employers, either as complementary or competitive providers of education and employment training. The private industry councils are a step in this direction, though their effectiveness remains to be seen.

Framework of Analysis: Research on Policy Implementation

In the past five or six years policy researchers have begun to focus explicitly on the implementation of federal policy in such areas as economic development, education, employment training, and community development. This research has produced a number of tentative conclusions that can be used to formulate a federal strategy for changes in the youth employment delivery system.

The most basic purpose of implementation research is simply to trace the process by which federal policy is translated into administrative action. As research has progressed, researchers have developed a more detailed understanding of why federal policies seem to be more effective in some localities than in others. The key to understanding 'effectiveness' is appreciating that it is both a matter of consistency with federal policy objectives and of consistency with the objectives of local implementors. The two sets of purposes can both conflict with and complement each other, but they are virtually never identical. Local programs in response to federal policies are characterized by 'mutual adaptation' (McLaughlin, 1976), in which federal objectives are shaped to local conditions and local objectives are shaped to federal aims. The skillfull use of federal policy entails some combination of direct federal influence, through the use of funds and regulations, and indirect influence, capitalizing on local skill and inventive ability. Given that the research seems to show a weak effect for direct federal influence, federal policymakers should begin to understand ways of affecting the skill and ability of local implementors, or local problem-solving capacity. Researchers and policymakers know very little about the determinants of local problem-solving capacity, and only recently have people begun to describe explicitly how legislators and high-level administrators can take local problem-solving capacity into account when they make policy, (Elmore, 1979)

There has been a large amount of recent research on implementation issues. Much is relevant to the youth employment delivery system. Much of this suggests the limitations of federal direction. Factors like the structure of distribution formulas, the absolute level of funding for local projects, the degree of federal project monitoring, and federal evaluation requirements seem to have no systematic effect on how well local projects are implemented (Berman and McLaughlin, 1975 and 1978). Where the effects of federal policy are discernible, they are often unanticipated and inconsistent with federal objectives (Pressman and Wildavsky, 1973; Bardach, 1977). The central problem of federal policy implementation is complexity which can be understood both in terms of the number of interdependent steps, stages, or people necessary to get something done and in terms of amount of variability in the way people respond to policy. Because federal policies require the concurrence of large numbers of people and because they are implemented through intermediary organizations, their effects are difficult to follow and even more difficult to control. So the typical pattern of response to federal policy is a small number of stunning successes (by both federal and local standards), a few examples of outright failure and abuse of federal funds, and an enormous number of very diverse cases in which it is difficult to determine precisely what has happened.

Saying that federal policy has a weak and unpredictable effect is not the same as saying that federal funds, priorities and administrative strategies 'don't make a difference.' In most instances, federally-funded activities at the local level probably would not occur in the absence of federal support. Federal policy directs attention at important national problems that might otherwise be ignored. But when it comes to explaining what actually happens at the local level, federal actions appear to be quite weak relative to other factors that operate on local program implementation.

An important example of this comes from the youth employment field. Twenty-two percent of Youth Employment and Training Program (YETP) funds were set aside to be administered under joint agreements between CETA prime sponsors and LEAs. In this instance the federal government is intervening in a set of local relationships that have been characterized in the past by competition and conflict and in which there is enormous variability from one locale to the next. Not surprisingly, the effects of the 22% set-aside have been spotty and indeterminate. The funds have provided the occasion for cooperation, but they cannot create genuine collaborative efforts where none have existed in the past. The factors that have the greatest influence over the quality of collaborative efforts lie with local actors, not with the federal government. To some extent, the assertion of increased federal control over CETA-LEA agreements would undermine the original policy objective behind the set-aside, which was to stimulate joint activity. Increased federal control doesn't improve CETA-LEA relations where they are already good and can't make them better where they are bad. Implementation of the federal objective, in other words, depends not on the assertion of increased federal control but on harnessing the self-interest of local actors to the federal purpose. The federal government can support and nurture local interest but cannot control it.

Some of the earliest studies of the local effects of federal policy found a consistent pattern of failure where local actors were unable to put together a coalition composed of groups with a major interest in the outcome. (Derthick, 1972; Pressman, 1975; Banfield, 1976; Elmore, 1978, 217-226) The local administration of federally-initiated policies is not simply a matter of translating federal objectives into local actions. Local political actors, administrators, and service deliverers have to have a reason for lending support and investing effect in the implementation of federal policy at the local level. The federal government can require that certain procedures be followed, but unless important local actors agree to orchestrate their actions for a common benefit, there is not likely to be an effective local response. The strongest motivator of local actors is ownership of the results of local programs and credit with local constituencies, not federal approval.

Generating political and administrative support at the local level appears to require substantial delegation of discretion and control to local political coalitions, where they exist. Where they do not exist, there is a strong federal interest in using federal support to stimulate their creation. Youth employment is the classic example of a policy whose implementation depends critically on the formation of local coalitions. Direct administrative control of the diverse actors in the youth employment delivery system is, for all practical purposes, impossible. Schools look to local boards and state agencies for guidance. CETA prime sponsors look to local governments and federal administrators. Program operators look to local constituencies and to CETA administrators. There are ample opportunities to sabotage administrative controls with political influence, since each set of actors has a political contituency that is to some extent independent of the others. So attempts to assert control by using federal regulations or by organizing centralized management systems at the local level will probably fail. It is virtually impossible for local political actors to gain any useful credit for implementing federal regulations or for constructing a tighter management system. The pay-off for them comes from influencing allocation decisions and gaining support for local constituents.

To the extent that the federal government pursues a strategy of enforcing compliance with detailed regulations instead of supporting and encouraging the formation of local coalitions, it is removing a strong incentive for local success. The cost of tighter federal regulations is loss of local political support and an undermining of local decisionmaking structures.

The implementation of new policies requires the development and communication of new practices for delivery-level personnel. This obvious factor is one which is frequently ignored. Employment training practitioners complain that there is virtually no system of staff support and training on either the national or the local level in CETA. Education practitioners complain that, while support is frequently available, it consists of training that is designed and initiated by administrators for the purpose of indoctrinating them to administrative procedures rather than improving their delivery skills. Research on the implementation of educational innovations supports the conclusion that, in order to have an effect on project success, training must be practical, sustained, and user-initiated. (Berman and McLaughlin, 1978; Mann, 1978) Service deliverers understand the difference between training that is designed to control their behavior and that which is designed to increase their skill level. Administrators and policymakers are frequently oblivious to this distinction, assuming that knowledge of administrative procedures is equivalent to knowledge of effective practices. Hence, training that is initiated and controlled by administrators tends only to reinforce service deliverers' convictions about the unresponsiveness of the delivery system to their skill needs.

Education and employment training are areas in which the knowledge and skill of service deliverer are very specific, situational, and difficult to generalize. Only service deliverers and people who have made a point of getting close to the delivery level have a sense of the level of uncertainty involved in trying to communicate effective practices. Administrators are interested in and responsible for activities on a completely different level of abstraction. Networks for communicating effective practices and for providing training to delivery-level practitioners, then, need to be based on strong ties among practitioners, rather than ties that are mediated by administrators. Administrative support for training is critical; administrative intervention in training is not useful.

Taken separately, each of these findings from implementation research seems to accord with common sense. Taken together, they suggest an approach to policy implementation and to the design of delivery systems which is considerably at odds with existing practice in the federal government. Federal social programs have consistently relied more on regulation and administrative controls to accomplish federal policy objectives than they have relied on policies designed to enhance local problem-solving capacity. Hence, we have a relatively detailed understanding of the limits of direct federal influence and not much understanding of how the federal government can use indirect influence -- by building and relying upon local problem-solving capacity -- to further its objectives. The major focus must be on actions that are designed to support knowledge and practice at the delivery level and to strengthen coalitions of critical actors in the youth employment delivery system.

POLICY OPTIONS

Options for Federal Funding Allocation

Presently youth employment funds flow from the federal to the local level through the CETA system. After they reach the local level, CETA prime sponsors are responsible for negotiating joint agreements with school systems under the 22% YETP set-aside. Analysts have suggested that this system has limited appeal for educators because it makes school systems depend upon CETA prime sponsors for participation in youth employment programs. To assure that schools have a strong interest in youth employment programs, the analysts argue, a portion of the funds that currently go to prime sponsors should be channeled through state educational agencies to the local level and be administered according to agreements negotiated with prime sponsors (Wurzburg, May 1979, v)

The flow-of-funds question is an important one at the federal level because it affects the allocation of funds among federal agencies. Channeling funds through the educational system, as well as the CETA system, gives federal education agencies an increased stake in the youth employment problem bit it also diminishes DOL's control of youth employment funds and disperses administrative authority at the federal level.

Four options are apparent for channeling federal youth employment funds through the educational system:

- Funds could be channeled through federal and state vocational education units, on the assumption that classroom skill training is the most significant contribution that schools can make to preparing young people for labor force entry;
- Funds could be channeled through federal and state career education units, on the assumption that schools are better suited to teaching career awareness;
- A new categorical program could be established at the federal and state level dealing with basic education for employment, on the assumption that schools fail to perform the basic task of imparting literacy and numeracy adequate for job entry; or
- A new federally-funded state grant program could be established in the youth employment area, giving state education agencies the authority to determine how funds would be used, subject to certain requirements for coordination with the CETA system.

All of these options have the advantage of drawing various parts of the educational system more explicitly into the youth employment delivery system. Choosing among them is a matter of assessing which of the various education constituencies' support is most valuable at the state and local level and which set of actors is likely to contribute the most to the solution of youth employment problems. No clear case can be made for preferring one option over another on these grounds.

The major weakness of all these options is that none of them speaks directly to the objective of providing jointly-run, highly-visible, and accessible services at the delivery level. In fact, if past experience with federal education programs is any guide, channeling funds through various parts of the education system only aggravates the problem of delivery-level integration. The education system is highly fragmented at the delivery level: vocational programs are isolated within schools, career education and vocational education are disconnected and competitive programs in most settings, and teaching basic skills to vocational students tends to be regarded as second-class work by most teachers. Channeling money through one or the other of these activities does nothing to pull them together or to bring them into a collaborative relationship with employment training programs outside the school system.

Two other options seem plausible and would accomplish all the objectives:

- Allocate the 22% set-aside on a matching basis, according to the amount of local, state, and federal education monies dedicated to jointly-run youth employment programs at the local level. Instead of going directly to CETA prime sponsors, or channeling it through one part or another of the educational system, the set-aside could go only to activities that can be demonstrated to be jointly funded and administered; or

- Allocate the 22% set-aside to a new organizational entity at the local level, called a school/work council. The federal government, through regulations issued jointly by DOL and federal education agencies, would mandate only the composition of the councils (school administrators, teachers, CETA program operators, CETA administrators, and employers) and the ground rules for their establishment. CETA prime sponsors would act as fiscal agents for the councils, but would not exercise direct administrative control over their decisions. The councils would receive allocations and would be responsible for developing a jointly-run program.

Both of these options clearly communicate the federal interest in an integrated and accessible delivery system. Both delegate substantial discretion to the local level, instead of relying on narrowly-defined federal funding channels to induce delivery-level cooperation. And neither requires a dramatic change in the way YEDPA funds are currently allocated. The major disadvantaged of the first option is that it encourages elaborate and complex federal regulations to define 'jointly-run' activities and matching requirements. An excessively compliance-oriented approach to implementing the option would lead to little more than pro forma collaboration at the local level and complaints about federal intervention. The second option is not nearly as sensitive to federal intervention, since it vests real decisionmaking authority in a real organization. But it has the disadvantage of significantly diluting the administrative role of CETA prime sponsors. They are likely to respond to this dilution by trying to intervene in the decisions of school/work councils. Neither of the options is without problems, but both have the advantage of placing primary emphasis on delivery-level integration rather than simply running money through various federal conduits.

One should not expect a short-term, dramatic change in the nature of relations among school systems and CETA programs from any of these options. Nor should one expect immediate changes in delivery-level integration of youth employment services. The real effects in these areas will come not from changes in the way federal funds are allocated, but from local initiative, invention, and coalition-building. The fact that success is highly dependent on local factors also means that there will be substantial variatial variation from one locality to another in the way coordination occurs and in the substance of local programs. This variability can be viewed in two ways from the federal level -- as evidence of a failure on the part of federal administrators to create consistently good programming, or as evidence of the adaptation of federal policy to local conditions. To the extent that federal policymakers and administrators take the former view, they will try to constrain local discretion. To the extent that they take the latter view, they will try to encourage and capitalize upon local discretion. Variability of local response is an important asset when it is seen as a source of knowledge about how to solve youth employment problems.

An important strategic choice facing executive and legislative decisionmakers in the reauthorization of YEDPA is whether to rely primarily on federal regulation or on local capacity-building to implement federal objectives. The most common strategy is to weave federal policy objectives into program regulations, making them applicable to all recipients of federal funds, and then to require recipients to document the degree to which their activities are consistent with these objectives. So, for example, if the federal government decides that it wants a higher degree of CETA-LEA integration, knowledge development directed at the needs of practitioners, and increased private sector participation, it can require YEDPA recipients to go through a more detailed planning process and to provide evidence that they have directed funds toward these objectives. Evidence of compliance with procedures is regarded as evidence of success in achieving federal objectives.

An alternative view is that evidence of compliance does not constitute evidence of success, because the ability of local providers to comply with federal regulations is not consistently related to their ability to deliver effective services. Compliance, in other words, is not the same thing as the ability to reach a target population effectively. In this view, the best strategy for implementing federal objectives is to target discretionary money on local projects that have a high probability of successfully demonstrating federal objectives. The Secretary of Labor already has ample discretionary authority under YEDPA to fund exemplary projects, so the adoption of this strategy requires only a more explicit statement of federal objectives and targeting of discretionary funds on those objectives.

Primary reliance on the regulatory strategy puts the initiative in the hands of federal administrators; they are responsible for making judgments about whether local decisions are consistent with federal objectives. Primary reliance on the discretionary strategy puts the initiative in the hands of localities; they are responsible for adapting federal objectives to local conditions. The regulatory strategy decreases variability in local response; the discretionary strategy increases variability.

The major problem with the discretionary strategy in the past has been that it has produced a few isolated examples of success -- many of them in localities that already had a good track record -- and has left the average locality unaffected. A few outstanding examples of CETA-LEA cooperation, knowledge development, or private sector participation don't necessarily improve performance in localities that have had difficulties making anything happen in these areas. So a decision to emphasize the discretionary strategy has to be coupled with a broad-scale commitment to increasing local problem-solving capacity in order to have any broad-scale pay-off. Discretionary projects have little utility to the implementation of federal objectives unless they are coupled to actions that are designed to increase the demand for new program ideas in other localities.

The major difficulty with present knowledge development efforts under YEDPA is confusion of purpose and the absence of a clear strategy for using knowledge developed in one place to affect practice in another. The first choice that has to be confronted by decisionmakers is whether knowledge development is intended to serve primarily administrators or practitioners.

- If its main purpose is to strengthen the managerial role of federal and local administrators, then knowledge development efforts should be directed as monitoring the flow of funds, developing management information systems, and maintaining information on the short- and long-term labor market experiences of YEDPA participants. These are all activities that enhance the ability of administrators to exercise management control.

- If its main purpose is to increase the knowledge and delivery skills of practitioners, then knowledge development efforts should be targeted on practitioner-initiated training, increased contacts among delivery-level personnel across localities, and involvement or practitioners in the development of local programs. One device that could be tried on an experimental basis is giving training funds directly to practitioner groups and having them design and contract for knowledge development and skill training. Another device would be to direct a certain amount of money for knowledge development to school/work councils, and ask them to develop an agenda that explicitly addresses local needs.

The present, indeterminate posture of the federal government toward the purpose of knowledge development means that there is no effective means of capitalizing on local diversity, of focusing attention on delivery-level problems, or of building problem-solving capacity at the bottom of the delivery system where it is most likely to affect program success.

Program Delivery Options

To the extent that federal policy emphasizes formal relationships among CETA prime sponsors and school systems as a way of addressing youth employment problems, it is implicitly directing resources toward well-established service deliverers and away from small, marginal, alternative deliverers. The net effect of this emphasis, over the near term, will be a reduction in the range of alternative programs available to young people. The essential choice is between a future delivery system that is highly-centralized at the local level and dominated by established program operators and educational professionals, on the one hand, and a future delivery system that is more loosely organized at the local level and includes a number of small, marginal deliverers, on the other hand. Federal policymakers should decide which way they would prefer the system to move.

If the federal government regards the enhancement of choice and diversity as an important objective, then it should explicitly adopt a policy of maintaining diversity where it exists and creating it where it does not. There are a variety of options for pursuing this strategy:

- Fund alternative deliverers who have been successful in one setting to test their ideas in another;
- Fund entrepreneurial ventures by practitioners in the established delivery system who want to set up alternative programs; or
- Fund demonstrations in which eligible young people are given the primary responsibility for assessing and choosing among program options (youth-counseling-youth, training vouchers, youth-initiated alternative programs, etc.)

A deliberate federal policy of enhancing diversity and choice would also give reduced emphasis to local administrative procedures which have the effect of standardizing assessment, assignment, and evaluation procedures. These procedures are effective devices for tightening and centralizing local administrative control, but they have two additional effects that reduce diversity and choice:

- They substitute administrative standards for individual judgements in the choice of services; and
- They concentrate discretion and control in the hands of professionals, rather than clients.

The more complex, standardized, and centralized the delivery system becomes at the local level, the more difficult it becomes for marginal operators to enter and the more difficult it is for young people to exercise informed choice.

Much of the pressure for local centralization has come from federal administrators concerned about fraud and abuse. This concern is unlikely to dimish. But it need not result in local practices that restrict diversity and choice. In order to avoid practices that restrict diversity and choice, federal and local administrators need to distinguish clearly between fiscal and programmatic controls. The federal government has a direct interest in fiscal controls because the Congress and the administration are responsible for assuring that federal funds are used for authorized purposes. But if fiscal controls are used to limit decisions on program substance at the local level, when those decisions lie clearly within the acceptable boundaries of authorized purposes, then they become a restriction on diversity and choice at the local level.

By pushing its interest in fiscal controls into important programmatic areas, the federal government has artificially constrained the diversity of local programming. The distinction between fiscal and programmatic controls suggests that the Department of Labor, and other federal agencies that might become involved in the administration of youth employment programs, should communicate clearly to local administrators one set of rules for assuring fiscal accountability and another, clearly distinguishable, set of rules that are much broader for programmatic accountability. In general, diversity and choice are enhanced when the responsibility for decisions on program substance is located as close as possible to the point of delivery. To the degree that these decisions are put in the hands of federal administrators or local administrators with no direct connection to service delivery, they can be expected generally to reduce the range of diversity in local programming and constrain the choices of young people in search of access to training.

As in the area of CETA-LEA cooperation, private sector linkages is an area in which federal influence is severely limited. Among the options frequently discussed are direct subsidies to employers for accepting young trainees and youth employment vouchers, which pay the difference between the minimum wage and some lower wage reflecting the young person's marginal product. While direct subsidies have been tested fairly widely, with inconclusive results, youth employment vouchers have not. The distinguishing characteristic of these options is that they assume that short-term financial gain is the most important incentive operating on private sector participation. They both try to make the initial transaction between the employer and the young person economically attractive to the employer. Because of this fact, they are politically controversial; they are subject to criticisms that they give preferential treatment to certain firms and that they create a subsidized pool of cheap labor to compete against the primary labor force.

Another set of options can be developed, based on the assumption that the primary incentive for private sector participation is not short-term financial gain but a sense of ownership in and control over the products of youth employment programs. If employers are involved in the design, conduct, and evaluation of local projects, they are likely to find it difficult to disown the product of those programs. Presently, employers are in the enviable position of commenting on a delivery system in which they have little or no role, yet their participation is essential to the performance of the system. As a practical matter, this makes very little sense, since they are free to reject the products of the system, yet they lack a strong incentive to change those things in the system that they regard as ineffective. An important shift of perspective would result from regarding private sector employers as part of the delivery system, rather than simply as consumers of the products of the system. Two possibilities are readily apparent for drawing private sector employers into the delivery system:

- Make them equal participants in local school/work councils. In order for school/work councils to provide a strong incentive for private sector participation, they would have to have major responsibility for program development and implementation, a well-defined budget, and a well-defined service area. The clearer these elements, and the greater the degree of delegated control from CETA prime sponsors to councils, the stronger the incentive for ownership of the product.

- Make consortia of private sector employers competitive providers of youth employment services. In the absence of a mechanism like the school/work council, it makes sense to view private employers as competitive providers of all possible services, including basic skills, career awareness, and job-entry skills. The requirement that employers form consortia would dimish the likelihood that youth employment funds would be used as a direct subsidy to any single firm's operations and would increase the breadth of training offered. The most discretion delegated to consortia, the stronger the incentive for ownership of the product.

The first alternative is consistent with the objective of strengthening local coalitions. The second alternative focuses on strong private sector participation in the delivery system at the expense of strong local coalitions. In both instances, the strength of the incentive for private sector participation depends on the degree of delegated control. If school/work councils are seen simply as advisory mechanisms for CETA prime sponsors, it is highly unlikely that they will result in any real change in the delivery system. If private sector employers who become involved in youth employment projects are regarded strictly as advisors or consumers, their incentive to participate is less than if they are regarded as deliverers of services.

The overall logic of the analysis presented in this paper is that federal decisions affecting the youth employment delivery system should be designed to maximize discretion, adaptability, and access at the point of delivery. For the clients of youth employment programs, their first point of contact with the delivery system is the most important one. Changes in the delivery system should be evaluated primarily by their effect on the transaction between service deliverers and clients and only secondarily by the effect on federal and local administrators.

A major purpose of the paper has been to demonstrate that, despite the relatively weak role of federal incentives, federal policy has effects -- intended and unintended -- at the point of delivery. Focusing on these delivery-level effects increases the likelihood that service-providers will connect effectively with young people.

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LESSONS FROM PROGRAM EXPERIENCE

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The Program Elements - What We Have Learned

Past experience with youth employment and training programs, and extensive analysis of the Youth Employment and Demonstration Projects Act (YEDPA) efforts over the last 2 years, provide a number of lessons concerning the effectiveness of alternative activities and strategies in meeting youth employment needs. These lessons provide the basis for restructuring and reorienting the youth employment and training system, as well as the background for budget and policy choices.

There are four major building blocks of youth employment and training programs: pre-employment assistance, work experience in the public sector, private sector access activities, and remedial training and education. A range of approaches are subsumed by these categories. Most programs and projects contain elements of all four. Yet in each category, there are some generalizations which seem warranted by program experience.

1. Public and Nonprofit Sector Work Experience. Part-time school year and summer jobs for students plus year-round "aging vat" or "bridge" jobs for high school dropouts or graduates not ready for career entry, constitute the primary activity in CETA for persons 21 and under. These public and nonprofit sector jobs are generally temporary and of limited intensity. The school-year jobs usually last less than the school term and are typically 10 hours weekly. Summer jobs average 9 weeks and 26 hours per week. The length of stay in out-of-school work experience is normally less than 6 months, with 35 hours of work weekly.

There is no evidence of substantial short-term post-program employment and earnings gains resulting from such limited duration work experiences. Available measurement tools cannot isolate the modest expected impacts of such activities. Also, the immediate results may not be indicative. Nonparticipants tend to be looking for work and have some probability of finding it by the time participants leave the program and begin experiencing frictional joblessness. Hence, comparisons of pre-post changes for participants and nonparticipants may yield little evidence of impacts. Basically, however, these short-term "aging vat" jobs do not lead to employment tracks any more than other short-term jobs held during the teen years. They simply contribute to a cumulative experience. But these long-term effects are difficult, if not impossible, to measure, just as it is difficult to determine the future employment and earnings consequences of any teen work experience.

In contrast, the direct effects of work experience are measureable and significant. Well-run youth projects can be highly productive, paying back social costs in useful products. Recent work valuation estimates have documented a surprisingly high output level ranging from $2.98 per hour of work for the Summer Youth Employment Program (SYEP) to $3.57 for Young Adult Conservation Corps (YACC). Jobs can reduce the likelihood and consequence of negative events such as crime. The supported work findings suggest a noticeable in-program decline in arrests. The Entitlement findings indicate that jobs can be used to lure youth back to school and to forestall early leaving. It is estimated that the effective dropout rate has been reduced by up to 10 percent in the Entitlement sites, and that one-third of eligible dropouts have been lured back to school. Because youth employment programs pay minimum wages for limited hours of work, significant reductions in measured unemployment can be achieved per dollar of public expenditure. Targeted jobs programs can be an effective income maintenance strategy because they emphasize work, have positive long-term effects, and concentrate resources to large families. The useful social output combined with these in-program benefits can justify the costs of the public work experience investment if the programs are well run.

Youth work experience programs are not always well run. YEDPA put increased emphasis on supervision and disciplined work experience, and there is evidence that there were improvements in these as well as existing efforts. The summer program was ignored for many years and loose standards prevailed for worksite activity. In the last two summers, there has been enormous improvement providing encouragement about the possibility of running large-scale work experience programs with disciplined productive work settings, but suggesting also that good management requires a great deal of continuing Federal attention to what goes on at work and training sites.

One thrust of Youth Employment and Training Programs (YETP) has been to enrich work experience with occupational information, counseling, efforts to overcome sex-stereotyping and the like. There has been some progress as well in adding such "enrichments" to SYEP. It is unproven whether these enrichments add to the impact of the experience although the conventional wisdom is that they do. Vocational exploration programs in which youth receive either classroom exposure to private sector requirements, field trips and other periodic experiences, or actual job shadowing and rotation, were tested in the 1978 summer program. The evidence from the 1978 summer program documents only modest impacts on labor market knowledge aspirations and awareness. Since the enrichments typically account for only a minor part of expenditures and activities, it is innately difficult to separate their impact from that of work experience alone.

There has been little success in creating "meaningful" jobs in the sense of new career opportunities for teenagers. There are a broad array of work options available under youth programs, but the preponderance remain entry clerical, maintenance, social service aide and conservation positions. The effort to link jobs to youth aptitudes and aspirations are limited, and evaluators of YEDPA programs have questioned the whole concept because of limitations in available work options and the uncertainty of youth participants about what they want to do until they have gained some work experience. The evaluators have suggested that career planning should be based on a sumulative approach with decisions and job assignments based on past experience rather than just test-based employability plans for the future. Potential job progressions within programs have not been fully utilized because of the categorical nature of intake, assessment and assignment. In some prime sponsors with a limited number of low income youth who are known on an individual basis by program operators, the progression may occur, for instance, with increasingly responsible jobs from summer to summer. New York City this last summer allowed for some youth to be called back into more responsible positions in job settings of the previous summer. But this is the exception rather than the rule.

More sophisticated work experience programs for youth characterized by linkages to education and apprenticeship, more skilled supervision, and greater expenditures for materials can be and have been structured and are attractive where successful. Youth benefit more in the long-run from such successful projects and they are more productive in terms of output per man-hour. However, the project failure rate rises with the complexity. Participant hours per dollar of program expenditure are reduced by supervisory and material costs. Such projects rarely emerge in local settings because they require too long a gestation period and concentrate resources to a greater degree than is viable. Whatever the relative benefits and costs of more elaborate work projects, they have accounted for and are likely to account for only a small proportion of all work experience activities at the local level.

The quality of these work experience activities is difficult if not impossible to judge from pre/post status changes of participants. In-school and summer terminees tend to return to school. Other participants leave and continue to move around in the labor market. The aggregate short-term employment and earnings impacts of work experience are difficult to measure because of the frictional unemployment associated with program leaving. If impact measurement cannot be done with large samples over entire programs, it certainly cannot be done for individual projects. The only dimensions that can be measured are whether youth are working hard, are supervised, feel they are productive and perform according to labor market standards of time attendance and behavior. These qualities of worksites can only be judged by onsire review. There has been great consistency between what youth, supervisors and outside reviewers believe is a quality work experience in such reviews. In the summer program, worksite visits revealed enormous variance within and between prime sponsors which were totally unobservable from program data. The summer program was only improved when worksite monitoring was dramatically expanded.

While limited duration, basic work experiences predominate in serving young people, CETA also provides some transitional or career entry employment opportunities which provide access to permanent jobs. A small portion of project-type work experience positions have apprenticeship linkages. More broadly, Public Service Employment provides career entry opportunities for some of the youth who represent a fifth of participants (although the majority of youth in Public Service Employment positions are in project-type work which is indistinguishible from preparatory work experience.) Perhaps the best indicator of the potential of such programs comes from the Public Employment Program in 1972 which placed a heavy emphasis on the transition into permanent employment. The post-program earnings gains for younger participants were about 60 percent higher than for older participants. However, there was also evidence of "creaming," and those most likely to transition were those who were most employable. The New Careers program experience suggested the difficulties of rearranging job structures permanently and the need to institutionalize the transition process to assure that the new career ladders had more than one or two rungs. In other words, where career entry employment can be arranged, young adults can benefit greatly. A significant effort must be exerted to assure a transition from the subsidized job to a permanent job, to promote subsequent upward mobility and to avoid "creaming." There needs to be careful structuring of career entry experiences to assure multiple steps and subsequent access to regular jobs as well as control over the assignment into these positions.

2. Intensive remediation is based on the premise that individuals failing in or failed by the mainstream developmental institutions and processes can, through concentrated training, education and other assistance, become more employable and will, as a result, have greater future success in the labor market. The 15 years of Job Corps experience provide more information about this approach than any other component of the manpower tool kit. The most important lesson is that the future can be redirected by such interventions. Perhaps the most sophisticated and dependable assessment to date of many manpower programs has revealed that Job Corps enrollees experience statistically significant increases in labor force participation, full-time employment and weekly earnings. Arrests are markedly reduced during and after participation. Residential mobility for economic reasons is increased. Welfare and social insurance dependence declines. The current value of these benefits exceeds social costs under conservative methods of estimation. In other words, intensive remediation for youth is a profitable social investment.

Evidence suggests that skill- or occupation-specific vocational training in an institutional setting works best for young adults who are mature enough to stick with a course over the time necessary for its completion and who have a fairly stable notion of what they want to do so that they will continue in a training-related occupation. Youth must be old enough that employers will hire them when they complete the training course.

This is most easily documented in the Job Corps program. In fiscal 1978, only a fourth of enrollees who entered at age 16 completed their course of training compared to two-fifths of those who entered at age 19 and over. Among completers, those who were 18 or under had a recorded placement rate of 70 percent, with half of these in a training-related job. The placement rate of graduates 21 and over was 77 percent of whom two-thirds found a training-related job. Put in another way, the proportion of older youth who completed training and were placed in a training-related occupation was more than double that of the younger enrollees.

The experience is consistent across all institutional training--teenagers tended to have higher termination rates and lower training-related placements than young adults. Even in vocational education, the body of evidence does not suggest that secondary vocational education increases subsequent employment and earnings. Rather, it is post-secondary vocational education which produces most of the gains. There are doubtlessly many youth who are mature and directed enough in the teens to complete and benefit from specialized training, but this must be determined on an individualized basis; on the average, their retention and placement rates are not high enough to justify the investment at this point.

This reality is, in fact, recognized by decisionmakers in the employment and training system. In CETA, Title II (then Title I) local programs there were only 62,500 youth 19 and under in classroom training activities in 1978. Most of this was basic skills and world-of work type courses. In Job Corps, 16- and 17-year-olds are usually placed in generalized training such as maintenance or cooking which can be applied even if they drop out early; if they stay longer, they are usually shifted into more specific training occupations. Job Corps advanced training programs operated by unions frequently have an age requirement.

The same pattern apparently holds true for intensive remedial education. In Job Corps, for instance, the proportion of those who entered at age 16 or 17 lacking a high school diploma who subsequently attain a GED is 10.9 percent compared to 12.9 percent among those 18 or 19 even though education is stressed as the major component for younger enrollees and even though older youth tend to be more anxious to get on with vocational training. The experience with the Career Intern Program of alternative education suggests that those youth who have left school and are ready to return voluntarily do better than those identified as having problems in high school and referred directly into the program. Finally, early findings from the mixed services demonstration project which randomly assigns out-of-school youth to work, work mixed with remediation, and classroom training, finds significantly greater dropout rates in the latter case, suggesting that young people may need some aging before they are ready to return to the classroom.

Another lesson is the importance of alternative settings for such intensive remediation. The Job Corps provides a structured and positive environment away from home. The decision to leave home is frequently a demonstration of maturity or a sorting process. Under the Entitlement program, it has proved difficult to attract dropouts back into regular school; the dropout enrollment at local sites only increased when separate educational components were introduced. The common element in successful intensive remediation appears to be self-paced learning and individualization. Remediation is necessary in the first place because the youth could not move at the average of their peers, so that return to the same environment is demeaning. Likewise, simply being slotted with all those who have fallen behind is not helpful because the achievers are dragged down by the less committed youth. In a separate setting, where the entrance requires some motivation, and where there is self-paced learning which does not emphasize comparative deficiencies, a positive dynamic can be achieved.

3. Pre-employment Assistance. There is a broad assortment of activities which aim to provide youth with greater knowledge of career options, how to search and apply for jobs, the demands of the workplace, motivation and self-confidence to enter the labor market, and a helping hand to overcome personal barriers. The activities include basic life skills training, job search assistance, counseling, special efforts to overcome sex stereotyping, vocational exploration and cluster skills training. The term "pre-employment" assistance may be somewhat misleading in that such activities may be integrated with work and may be needed at several stages of development. Basically, however, the activities aim to provide a minimum set of competencies or coping skills with which youth can then make it on their own in the workplace. For youth age 14 and 15, this assistance is quite generalized and limited in scale. Usually it is offered in the school and summer under the rubic school-to-work transition services. For out-of-school and older youth who evidence more severe problems, more intensive assistance is required.

There is almost no hard evidence about the impacts of pre-employment assistance, the most effective delivery approaches, or the different mechanisms for dealing with different groups. The reason is that the services tend to be of limited duration and cost, so that their impact is by nature modest and, therefore, difficult to measure. The activities have the aim of changing knowledge and behavior which will not necessarily be reflected in immediate changes in employment and earnings. Psychometric measurement of in-program changes is a tenuous exercise. Large-scale, control group experiments now underway under YEDPA with school-to-work transition services, job search assistance and pre-employment services for out-of-school youth should provide some better indicators of impact, but the evidence is a year away.

For now, however, policy decisions must rest on the judgements of practitioners who deal with youth on a day-to-day basis. Pre-employment assistance has been given extensive emphasis under local programs, and is also the major focus for non-CETA programs dealing with special needs groups. Practitioners generally agree that assistance is necessary before most disadvantaged youth can successfully enter jobs and that a helping hand is needed when failure is encountered in the labor market or a personal problem disrupts progress. Practitioners stress the need for role models and peer support networks, as well as arrangements that provide continuity of support for individuals so that their positive experiences become more cumulative.

4. Private Sector Access. There is a fundamental perception that youth participants in employment and training programs should receive a set of discrete services and then be placed in "real" private sector jobs. In fact, placement rates into unsubsidized employment are quite low. In fiscal 1978, less than a fifth of terminees of YETP and YCCIP entered private employment, with the rest returning to school or other programs or nonpositively terminating. In 1978, only 3.6 percent of all YETP participants were in private sector on-the-job training. This is characteristic of all youth programs which serve primarily teenagers.

This has led to an active effort to find mechanisms of private sector involvement and access through new intermediaries and through financial incentives. On the assumption that red tape is an impediment to hiring and training low income youth, and that reimbursement is needed for the extra costs, the Targeted Jobs Tax Credit provides half the first year wage for the hiring of certified low income youth as well as students in cooperative education programs. The Youth Incentive Entitlement Pilot Projects (YIEPP) program provides for 100 percent wage subsidy to the private employer, with payrolling from the prime sponsor. Private Industry Councils have been created to intermediate with employers. In addition, under the discretionary authority of YETP, there have been tests of a wide range of techniques for accessing private sector jobs. The lessons are not all in, but there are some preliminary indicators which are consistent with past experience:

First and foremost, it is unrealistic to expect high direct placement rates for programs which provide short duration or seasonal and in-school work experience, where participants are selected because of their labor market difficulties, and where funds are concentrated in areas where there are significant private sector job deficits.

The impediments are not just red tape nor can they be overcome by "bribes" to employers. The Entitlement program provided the first test of the full wage subsidy. In the 17 project sites, a very substantial effort was made to line up business commitments to provide part-time and summer jobs. As of September 1979, only 15 percent of the jobs were in the private sector. This is four times the percentage under YETP, but the private sector remains only a modest component of the effort to fill the job deficit for the in-school poor youth in the Entitlement case accounting for only one in seven of the needed employment opportunities. Anecdotal evidence suggests that even the 100 percent subsidy may not cover the costs of supervising the Entitlement youth. There has been no evidence of increased hiring for the sake of subsidies. The proportion of Entitlement youth in private sector jobs has stablized. Likewise, there has not been a massive surge in the use of the Targeted Jobs Tax Credit. Through July 1979, only 1400 economically disadvantaged youth age 16-18 had been hired under this mechanism, and only 6300 19- to 24-year-olds.

Employers and the public complain about red tape in government programs, but it is not necessarily disfunctional. In private sector subsidy programs, restrictions are necessary to protect against abuse. Under the contract JOBS program in the late 1960's, early subsidy contracts had few strings attached but in many cases participants were similar to those who would have been hired anyway and there was little on-the-job training. Procedures were then tightened by putting more requirements in the contracts. The result was fewer employers willing to participate, but also less "windfall" subsidization. On the other hand, other restrictions might not be worth the effort. Attempts to reduce subsidy levels in private sector Entitlement jobs after participants stayed for a period of time have not been successful. Either the youth are job ready and will be picked up by the employer or they are not, and a reduced subsidy formula creates red tape which discourages continued participation by the employer.

There has been a continuing search for model private sector approaches, but considering all the funds available under CETA and the fairly consistent pressure to place participants in the private sector, it is surprising how few "models" have emerged. In certain circumstances, those models are tautological in the sense that motivated employers have taken an initiative which is then called a model simply because it occurred. There are few easily replicable packages.

Finally, it must be realized that private sector access is inversely related to age. While rhetoric stresses placing youth in the private sector, it is really older participants in longer-term activities where linkages can be established for whom this is a feasible option. The figures for on-the-job training under YETP and Title II are suggestive.

Age	1978 Proportion in OJT YETP	 Title II-B (then Title I)
Under 16	2	0
16-19	3	11
20-21	10	22
22-44	--	21

For younger participants residing in job deficit areas, immediate private sector placement is unrealistic. The aim should rather be to provide teenagers a cumulative track record to improve their competitive prospects in the future. Employment and training programs do not do a very good job because there is no way to tell whether a participant has had positive or negative experiences. Private employers have a negative perception of CETA youth, so much so that motivated youth are better served by downplaying their program participation so that they will not be typecast as a "disadvantaged" individual.

Because of misconceptions and inflated expectations about the potentials of private involvement, some realistic possibilities have been neglected: First, the Entitlement approach of payrolling private sector jobs part-time in school and during the summer can increase opportunities for a disadvantaged clientele. Although the full wage subsidy is not an "open sesame," it is a necessary tool if poor students are to gain private sector work experience during their teens.

Second, intermediary groups such as 70001 and Jobs for Youth and certain community based organizations can provide a continuing and personal linkage to employers, as well as a mechanism for sorting among disadvantaged youth. To maintain credibility with employers, these groups have to realistically assign young people to jobs they can effectively fill. To do this, they must sort among the disadvantaged. In the 1960's, OIC established its reputation with employers by screening in and further motivating the more mature and upwardly mobile among the disadvantaged, thus giving employers a more dependable product. There are many community based programs filling this function today at the local level.

Third, some institutional skills centers have established a track record with employers to a large extent by determining the specific competencies they require, then meeting these competencies. There is a comprehensive certification system in Job Corps for specific vocational skills acquired. This system has proven useful with employers, particularly in occupations such as welding.

Fourth, while OJT is too cumbersome to the employer because it requires payrolling and reimbursement, the tax credit is too general in that it certifies the participant but does not assure the job is a real training or career entry opportunity for this individual. It should be possible to certify career entry positions and to have a try-out period which is payrolled without red tape. This would allow participants to prove themselves and overcome negative labeling.

Fifth, placement assistance should be generalized for younger participants, with particular emphasis on teaching them how to look for work. Placement components related to preparatory work experience should also be generalized. Ties between public sector jobs and the private sector should become more distinct as the jobs become more nearly like permanent adult employment; career entry employment requires very formalized linkages as noted previously. Advanced training likewise should have specific linkages while less advanced training should offer more generalized placement assistance. The Job Corps again provides a model where advanced union programs are now being followed directly by Industry Work Experience and then unsubsidized employment so that the extensive training investment is not wasted.

Underlying Approaches

Youth employment and training programs and policies rest on a foundation of assumptions and understandings which are only rarely questioned. Targeting, participation standards and requirements, the structuring of services for individuals over time, and the tradeoff between income maintenance, employment and human resource development goals, are the crosscutting issues. Recent youth program experience suggests the need for reexamination and perhaps modification of some of the underlying approaches to these issues:

1. Sorting vs. Support. A predominant but unstated theme of employment and training programs is to provide a supportive environment for disadvantaged youth so that they will not reencounter the failure they have experienced in the schools or the labor market. It is assumed that the longer they can stay in structured activities, the more likely they are to benefit. For instance, Job Corps has found a significant relationship between length of stay and post-program employment and earnings, so that retention has been emphasized and performance standards for centers are keyed to retention rates. The Entitlement program and other local efforts aimed at discouraging early leaving or promoting return assume that the best thing for youth is to remain in school, again because of the correlation between the diploma and subsequent earnings. Youth programs are judged by turnover and positive termination rates, so there is an incentive to keep participants as long as possible. In the summer program, local operations have an incentive to retain youth who are not performing both because the summer will be over soon, there are few other contructive options, and any vacant slots cannot be easily refilled.

It is not clearcut, however, that the youth who on the margin are most likely to drop out of programs will necessarily benefit from a longer stay. The average experience of completers vs. noncompleters may not be predictive of the experience of a likely noncompleter who is coaxed to stay.

The Job Corps experience suggests that if youth are forestalled from dropping out for personal and nonrecurring reasons, they can complete training and be successfully placed. It is not at all clear, however, that providing incentives to others who have continuing difficulty adjusting or are not ready for the Job Corps experience really produces a positive outcome for them. The 50 percent 90-day dropout rate in Job Corps works as a sorting mechanism, and those who stay are then a better bet for more expensive continuing training. In a system like CETA where a youth may be coaxed to stay in an activity for 90 days, this does not mean that he or she is then ready for intensive remediation because the sorting process may not have been allowed to occur.

Sorting does not mean that youth who do not perform are abandoned. In Job Corps, there are second chances to reenter after a period calculated to allow some maturation. Youth who cannot move forward into advanced components are given special remediation tailored to their needs. Likewise, in well run and smaller summer programs, there are a progression of jobs from summer to summer. The youth who are effective move up from year to year while the others continue in the more menial positions until they can prove themselves. The aim is to provide an individual incentive for performance and options for those who have more serious problems.

The retention emphasis for each component and program agent has several negative consequences. It tends to undermine standards in all activities. Youth who do not produce are retained alongside those who do. The discipline which is an important part of the work experience is lost. There is no chance for the individual to respond to increasing responsibilities and to mature when there is no expectation of performance.

Completion of a unit of service in CETA has very little meaning, since all youth are held as long as possible. The experience cannot, then, be used as a reference for a more advanced experience in the next employment and training activity or as proof of accomplishment to potential employers. This last factor is perhaps most critical. The activities in CETA are not referenced to any individual standards of achievement, so that it is impossible to tell what a youth has learned or can do. Since for many youth these programs are the only work experience until the late teens or early twenties because of the dearth of private job opportunities, it is a serious drawback that the experience cannot be used to document competencies and development.

Evidence suggests that structured and demanding activities have the greatest success. Worksite assessments under YEDPA and SYEP combining participant and supervisor interviews with outside reviewer assessments have consistently found that all parties consider the best worksites to be those with clear standards and enforcement of rules. In Job Corps centers that operate most effectively, Corpsmembers socialize new recruits into a standards of individual performance. Peer support tends to work.

There have been some efforts in recent programs to increase performance standards. Under YETP, a "service agreement" approach has been widely used in which services are prescribed for each youth on an individual basis with roles and responsibilities explained. Worksite agreements setting work standards and expectations have been required under YETP, SYEP and the Youth Community Conservation and Improvement Projects (YCCIP). The Entitlement program conditions the job guarantee on school attendance and performance. The notion of academic credit for work experience assumes a completion of a set of learning activities on the job. In the summer program, the theme in fiscal 1979 was to demand "a day's work for a day's pay," and although there were still cases of slack standards, the demands were greater than ever before and much more like in private sector jobs.

Sorting by activity completion is straightforward where individual standards of performance are enforced in the activities. Sorting by measured *competence acquisition* is more complex and rests on identifications of a reasonable set of benchmarks of employability development. There has been very little effort outside Job Corps to document competencies attained as opposed to registering completion of service units. In Job Corps, there is a complete and detailed system for measuring demonstrated vocational skills. There is also extensive use of the GED. A GED and positive performance ratings are needed in Job Corps for entry into advanced career training options. The aim has been to provide credentials, and to create an internal progression of experiences and rewards based on performance.

Private sector employers frequently attest that they simply want a youth who will show up on time and work hard. It should be possible to certify that a youth has demonstrated this maturity in an employment and training program. A measure of pre-employment competence or basic life skills would be of less use as a reference for employers than as a benchmark for moving the youth into more advanced activities and perhaps for giving a tangible recognition of accomplishment. Vocational competencies can be measured in a variety of ways, and Job Corps has one system that could be easily adapted. Educational certification standards are being developed in a number of States and the GED or high school diploma is an option if agreement is not possible on other benchmarks.

However, the underlying view that has to be changed is the notion that it is wrong to sort disadvantaged youth by identifying and referencing achievement. As programs reach an expanding portion of the universe of need, it is critically important that they provide opportunities which are like those in private sector. The requirement for performance and the risk of failure are a necessary part of any opportunity. As the opportunities are equalized for positive experiences, for instance, as disadvantaged minority youth come to have the same chances of employment in school and out during the teen years as nondisadvantaged nonminority youth, then application of labor market standards of success or failure, with rewards and punishments, becomes more feasible because the option for the youth who fails is not so bleak and the cause of this cannot be blamed as much on previously limited opportunities. It is necessary to provide second and third chances and a helping hand, but there is a need to tighten performance requirements and to utilize programs as a proving ground as well as a developmental opportunity.

2. Duration and Sequencing of Activities. The CETA reauthorization limited the period of work experience in CETA to 1000 hours in a single year, 2000 hours in any 5 years, and 30 months overall. There are exemptions for in-school work experience and a number of other loopholes, but the basic concept is to limit dependence so that "remedial" activities do not become continuing alternatives.

This is based on the reasonable notion that persons should receive employment and training services and then become employable. However, it does not square with the labor market needs of youth which may require several years of "aging vat" work experience (cumulated perhaps over summers or in short doses in-school) which may not immediately increase employability enough to guarantee placement, particularly where the participants reside in areas where there are significant job deficits, and where the participants are the victims of discrimination. It is estimated, for instance, that the Summer Youth Employment Program already provides two-fifths of the employment for 14- to 19-year-old nonwhites in the summer months. To reduce the job gap would require further expansion of summer components. In turn, youth in need would be working primarily in the public sector because that is where the majority of jobs would be for the eligible population. Participants would run up against the hours limitation before they matured to the point where career investments would be feasible.

Simply put, the limitation in service should begin once the youth enters career training or a career ladder employment opportunity, not during the developmental sequence. At current funding levels, or at any realistically projected funding levels, there will not be enough resources to provide continuing treatments from age 14 to 21 for all youth in need. This is not intended nor is it necessary. However, some youth with particularly severe problems may require such continuity of treatment. Stricter standards in the programs, and careful progressions will discourage "CETA junkies, Individualized prescription of services, rather than arbitrary limits, should help to determine who needs what.

If activities occur over a continium, it is important that experiences be sequenced so far as possible so that they cumulate maximally. Sequencing needs to be both "ex ante" and "incremental." "Ex ante" sequencing means that a plan is developed for an individual mapping out a structured series of activities over a span of time. "Incremental" sequencing means that at each point the youth reenters the system, assuming periodic entry and exit, the activity prescribed at that point is based on past experience. The notion of implementing long-term employability development plans is not realistic for younger teenagers, because they have so many options which only sort out over a period of years. However, "ex ante" sequencing becomes possible and necessary as youth mature, their career goals and options stablize, and they are ready to begin intensive remedial investments or career entry. Here, training is best linked directly to jobs with no discontinuities. It is important to clear the obstacles so that the occupation-specific investment pays off. Put another way, the sequencing should be retrospective early in the development and transition process and more prospective later.

3. Targeting Resources. There is general agreement with the principle that scarce public resources should be utilized for persons most in need, but there is disagreement about the degree of such targeting and the best mechanisms for achieving it. Youth programs use a range of approaches both in allocating resources among areas and in determining eligibility within areas. The allocation formulae are varied. YCCIP divides resources among areas according to the unemployed population. YETP uses a weighted formula of unemployment, excess unemployment and poverty. The summer program uses poverty and unemployment, along with a "hold-harmless" clause which has retained the concentration of resources in central cities that was characteristic of the War on Poverty. Entitlement sites were decided by competition. Discretionary resources under YETP and YCCIP can be utilized anywhere and have been concentrated in urban and rural poverty areas. YACC sites are required to be near areas of substantial unemployment, but essentially they mirror the distribution of Federal lands. Job Corps expansion was planned to balance slot distribution with the regional shares of unemployed poor youth.

The effects of these different area allocation approaches are substantial: Poverty factors in the allocation formulae emphasize rural areas; unemployment shares spread resources evenly, while excess unemployment factors concentrate in a few cities; population density yields a very heavy concentration in the urban centers while the population factor distributes evenly across the country. Discretionary dollars are most effective in targeting to poverty areas. Finally, tying sites to the distribution of Federal lands under YACC completely mismatches with need.

There are also varying income eligibility requirements. Entitlement is most restrictive with poverty as the measure. SYEP uses 70 percent of the BLS Lower Living Standard, while Job Corps uses this standard supplemented by an out-of-school requirement and several other conditions. YETP uses 85 percent of the BLS Lower Living Standard for work experience components but has no income restriction on low cost services. YCCIP is open to all unemployed youth with first consideration to the economically disadvantaged. YACC is not targeted and is designed for a "good mix" of all youth.

The income criteria make a difference in the size of the eligible population and its characteristics:

	70%	85%	100%
# 14-21	5,802	7,318	8,911
# 14-21 Dropouts	1,344	1,696	1,986

The different allocation formulae and income eligibility criteria have yielded substantial differences in the population served by different categorical programs:

	Percent Dropouts	Percent Economically Disadvantaged	Percent Nonwhite & Hispanic
YACC	43	44	18
YCCIP	60	84	61
YETP	23	82	55
SYEP	6	100	72
YIEPP	7	100	84
Job Corps	86	100	71

There are problems in the application of both allocation formulae and the eligibility standards. There is little correlation between area adult unemployment and youth unemployment, and youth employment/population ratios would be preferable because of uncertainities about the meaning of unemployment measures for youth. However, neither youth employment nor unemployment data are available by prime sponsor as a basis for allocation. It makes no sense whatsoever from an equity or efficiency perspective to adjust youth allocation shares of prime sponsors each year based on adult unemployment changes since youth employment needs of areas do not correlate well with adult changes or levels.

The income eligibility criterion is fraught with hidden problems. Vertical inequities occur since income is a poor descriptor of individual need and employment obstacles given the wide range of potential and experience within any income or demographically defined youth cohort. Family status arrangements can make all the difference in the world. Just by declaring independence, an unemployed youth can meet the disadvantaged requirement. The use of school dropout status for eligibility creates incentives for school leaving, while the use of long-term unemployment may be reasonable for self-supporting youth out of school for several years, but is meaningless for teenagers who are in and out of the labor force. A long-term unemployment restriction would encourage some youth to remain unemployed in order to establish eligibility. Some special needs groups are already exempted from the income standards--the handicapped and offenders. However, relative to any income criterion, there are hundreds of thousands of ineligible youth who, by any individualized comparison, need help more than many who are eligible.

Borrowing from the YCCIP and YETP experience, it appears that separate standards are needed for high cost, intensive remedial services or work experience as opposed to low cost transition services. The latter should be available for all youth with prime sponsors free to decide on the emphasis. Under YETP, less than 5 percent was spent on straight transition services despite the lack of restrictions on targeting. It does not appear that prime sponsors will go too far. It is important that low unit-cost activities such as job search assistance be available without income certification requirements because they generate unnecessary paperwork which deter the use of such techniques.

YCCIP suggests that even for more expensive activities, a higher income standard, with clear guidance for targeting by individual needs, can achieve the purposes of the law and also allow for services to special group needs. For instance, 12 percent of YCCIP participants are offenders, double the proportion under YETP. Apparently prime sponsors have used the income flexibility to serve such special needs individuals without sacrificing income targeting since the percentage disadvantaged in YETP and YCCIP are the same.

The preceding analysis of youth labor market problems has implications for targeting. Because there is such wide variation within cohorts, and because permanent problems emerge more clearly only after cumulative experiences, it makes less sense to income target for early interventions. Because opportunity deficits are concentrated in certain geographic areas, and because it is not just the individuals with problems at a point in time who are affected, targeting by area makes more sense than targeting by individual characteristics. And because multiple problems accumulate to more than the sum of the parts, extra weight must be given to intensity factors in these allocation formulae.

4. Income Maintenance Elements. The wages and allowances paid in employment and training programs for low income youth have important income maintenance effects. An in-school and summer combination of work for a poor youth can provide wages equal to two-fifths of the poverty threshold for an urban family of four. The problem comes when income maintenance objectives are stressed over employment and human resource development objectives. For instance, when public work experience programs pay youth more than their productivity level and more than can be obtained in the private sector, society loses and the individual, while getting needed income, may develop unrealistic work behavior and be deterred from seeking employment in the private sector. Approximately half of the cost for classroom training goes for allowances which are required by law to equal the minimum wage. Obviously, the more that is paid in allowances, the fewer persons who can receive training.

There are several shortcomings in present wage practices. First, the minimum wage is more than what most 14- and 15-year-olds can earn in the private sector, and more than could be earned by many older youth without work experience. In the May 1978 Current Population Survey, the following percentages of working youth reported earning less than the then current minimum of $2.65.

14-15	69%
16-17	35%
18-19	14%
20-21	8%

The government jobs clearly provide attractive options to private sector employment for some of these youth. To the extent that public work experience programs are less demanding than private sector employment, the disincentives are exacerbated.

Second, there is a classic case of "wage illusion" in public perceptions. A significant group in the population will oppose paying 14- and 15-year-olds $3.10 per hour. When the minimum goes up, so does the public opposition to activities for 14- and 15-year-olds that pay the minimum. This is particularly true when public service employment programs which may employ the parents of these youth are limited to wages only slightly above the minimum. There is pressure, then, to exclude 14- and 15-year-olds from programs they need simply because of the inflexibility relative to wages.

Third, allowances create special problems where disadvantage and nondisadvantaged youth are slotted into the same training or remedial education, with one group getting paid for the effort and the other not. This disparity is one of the major barriers to coordination noted by educators and vocational educators.

Fourth, with scarce resources, the wages and allowance floor tends to become the ceiling so that everyone is paid the minimum. This eliminates incentives for good performance, and limits the steps that are available within the public work experience sector.

Fifth, reduced allowances can help to differentiate between those who simply want income and those who are mature enough to devote themselves to career development investments. The experience with OIC programs in the 1960's indicates that the absence of allowances provided a way to screen in participants who were highly motivated, so that a program dynamic could be created. The Job Corps allowance, now $50 monthly for new Corpsmembers, is equal to only a tenth of what would be earned monthly at full-time minimum wage employment. While full Job Corps services may be valued at more than the minimum, the $50 is what the Corpsmembers sees in his or her pocket. Youth who simply want income would tend to choose work experience positions rather than Job Corps. This natural sorting of those committed to human resource investment would be even greater if opportunities for work were equalized for disadvantaged and nondisadvantaged populations so that poor youth really had work options.

The wage issue is complex and fraught with political implications. There is general agreement that workers should get paid relative to their productivity. The minimum wage law provides for a 15 percent differential for 14- and 15-year-olds and for certain older students on the assumption that they lack the experience to be fully productive. If there were a benchmarking system assessing employability on an individualized basis, this could provide a basis for applying such differentials. An individualized approach would be far better than any comprehensive youth differential which might lead to some fully employable and productive youngsters being forced to accept wages less than their productivity warrants.

Delivery, Design and Organizational Lessons

The YEDPA implementation has been carefully studied, and there have been extensive process evaluations of discretionary projects dealing with different approaches and delivery mechanisms, building on the experience with long-standing programs such as SYEP and Job Corps. This body of evidence is suggestive of how local programs might best be organized, how they can be planned and designed, the comparative advantages of various delivery institutions, and the appropriate division of responsibility between the Federal and local levels.

1. Consolidation. The one point on which there is almost total agreement among program operators, planners and administrators is the need for consolidation. YEDPA added two new categorical programs with different eligibility requirements, activity mixes and reporting requirements to the two sets of programs already operating locally under Title II.B. youth activities and SYEP. The resultant problems are cataloged in all the case studies of the YEDPA experience. Separate administrative arrangements were needed for each program. Planning became an effort to fit together the pieces of a jigsaw puzzle. Individual needs had to be sacrificed to program restrictions. The MIS systems became fractionated; and as intercategorical transfers occurred, system accountability suffered.

Categorization was based on several assumptions. One was that separate programs could be implemented to test alternative approaches. Experience has shown, however, that comparison of approaches is better handled through structured, random assignment experiments. The artificial boundaries between approaches written in YCCIP and YETP were not always good for individual participants and the differences were obscured in practice. Prime sponsors tended to enrich YCCIP using YETP or Title II resources where they felt the work approach of YCCIP was too limited. There are also countless work experience positions in YETP which are exactly the same as in YCCIP, and the client groups do not differ substantially. Where a major categorical program such as YCCIP is overlaid on a broader base such as YETP, it does not necessarily change the level of effort for YCCIP-type activities because the prime sponsor is free to either increase or decrease the level of like projects under YETP.

The summer program is a special issue. It has been continued since its outset as a separate category. In one year, there was an attempt to roll it into Title I of CETA, but Congress voted a separate appropriation as the summer approached. Whatever the political implications, program experience strongly suggests the need to consolidate the summer program.

First, elimination of a summer program does not mean the elimination of seasonally expanded local activities. Prime sponsors are certainly as responsive to the threat of a "hot summer" as Congress and are perhaps more cognizant of local needs for expanded summer activities to meet the seasonal employment patterns of youth. In fact, prime sponsors substantially supplement the Summer Youth Employment Program by seasonally expanding Title II, YETP and YCCIP as well as public service employment. On the other hand, if prime sponsors wanted to spend relatively less for summer programs, they could simply plan to pick up YETP or YCCIP enrollees in the summer, thus keeping a level operation. Since seasonal youth unemployment rates locally are not available and the allocation criteria in the law are not well correlated with youth joblessness, particularly summer youth needs, the special summer component tends to dump more summer money into some areas than they need and too little in others. Local areas are better able to assess seasonal priorities based on their experience.

Second, the one attempt to decategorize the summer program is not convincing since it lumped a youth program into a combined adult and youth component, forcing a choice between adults and youth rather than between summer and year-round youth needs. The decategorization had not been legislatively agreed to before the fact, and clear guidance was not given to prime sponsors. Congress' enthusiasm for pumping money into the summer program late in the spring--one reason why a separate program has been retained--may now be constrained by the clear evidence of the negative impacts this has on local programs as well as by progress Congress has made towards a more orderly budget process.

Fourth, there has been a concerted and productive effort to move to year-round planning under SYEP and to better integrate summer with school-year components. This has clearly been complicated by uncertainty over summer funding levels and the separate requirements of the summer program.

Clearly, then, the separate categorization of the summer program has significant costs and few, if any, benefits either operationally or administratively.

The Entitlement program offers a special case of categorization. It was, in fact, a legislated experiment rather than a general program, and in this case Congressional specification was required because an experiment of this scale and with this concentration of resources in a few sites could not have been mounted without legislative backing. The question, now, is what to do with the program and the approach. There are really two elements to Entitlement: The concentration of resources to the point where a guarantee is possible for those with greatest need in a specific geographic area; and the requirement that youth must be in school or return to school to utilize this guarantee. The evidence is not available yet to judge whether the school linkage is fruitful, although the signs appear positive, but there are unequivocably positive findings relative to the targeting. YIEPP has by far the most disadvantaged clientele of all local CETA programs. The characteristics and backgrounds of participants clearly document their need for continuing and extensive interventions. The experience suggests that it is both feasible and reasonable to utilize supplemental funding to reach participants in poor neighborhoods in urban and rural areas. The supplement could provide a level of resources so that a matrix of activities could be guaranteed to resident youth - perhaps less than the 4 years of full employment potentially available under Entitlement, but substantial enough to compensate for shortfalls in the economy, to assure an equal chance at employability development and to compensate for multiple and compounding obstacles to employment. It would make sense to integrate such a supplement into a consolidated local system rather than adding all the controls and reports required under YIEPP to meet legislative mandates. If it is determined that the school conditioned aspect of the guarantee is important, local prime sponsors could be encouraged to adopt such an approach within their local programs. The Entitlement operational experience suggests that despite the special conditions required for experimentation, operational integration can be and has been achieved for a more intensive effort in specified locations.

2. Stability and Continuity. A second lesson about the organization of programs is the need for greater continuity and stability. The annual funding cycle for CETA programs, with variations from year-to-year in allocations for each prime sponsor because of changes in relative employment and unemployment rates, wrecks havoc with administration and operations. This is true for all CETA programs, but particularly those that are subcontracted, that involve small, specially developed as opposed to expanded activities within the subcontracting agencies, and that deal with the schools, which operate on a continuous planning cycle with an operating year beginning a month ahead of CETA. Youth programs, because they tend to be subcontracted, because they frequently involve special activities where staff have to be brought on board and retained, and because they deal with schools, have particular difficulties related to the instability of funding.

Traditionally, prime sponsors have adjusted to fluctuations in annual allocations by carrying over a significant portion of funds from year to year, by using the summer component as a way to burn-off extra monies or summer allocations to continue year-round projects that are running out of money. Now, this is more difficult because of restrictions in carry-over from year to year. Prime sponsors will no longer be able to "play the float." Prime sponsors can adjust to modest changes in real appropriations levels by fluctuating hours and weeks of participation. Most keep some in-house components and the remainder subcontracted and are able to retrench the most marginal performers or least politically sensitive subagents. But the problems have only been kept to a minimum because of steadily rising real aggregate appropriations for employment and training activities.

The combination of annual fluctuations and requirements for special consideration, notification and the like has led most prime sponsors to adopt annual competitive contracting among subagents. The uncertainty of prime sponsor funding, then, compounds the uncertainty of the annual competition for subagents. Each year these subagents must recompete, with their chances depending on the prime sponsor funding level. For the typical subagent, this means that the spring is consumed by competition for next year's funding. There are time-consuming processes of application and review. In August or September, there may be notification to the prime of planned funding, but it is subject to the allocation which still may not be received by the prime sponsor because Congress has to act on the budget and the shares then distributed. In recent years, the uncertainty has been compounded by failure of Congress to act on the budget in a timely fashion.

For subagents who get funded for the first time or launch a modified or expanded program, new staff and materials must be secured beginning October 1. Enrollment must be increased as quickly as possible to get up to operating levels. Training of staff and shakedown must occur at the same time. Enrollment must subsequently be surged in order to achieve contracted manyears since there will be many dropouts and since the phaseup takes some time. In other words, staff tends to be plateaued while enrollment follows a curvilinear pattern.

As the year progresses, administrative staff must begin to focus on the competition for the next year. The operating staff realize the uncertainty and wonder about their own future; some look for and take other jobs. As participant termination occurs, there is a hard choice between carrying a smaller number of enrollees with fixed overhead or bringing on new enrollees who might receive only a limited period of service. If money has not been spent or enrollment goals met, there is usually a hasty effort to bring on more youth and meet goals. If the activity is refunded, then there is either a phasedown as dropouts occur in the next year, or a phaseup if enrollment has been allowed to decline because of the desire to give an adequate duration of services to all participants. If subagents are not refunded, all remaining participants must be transitioned.

This scenario is even more complicated when schools are involved. The school employment structures are more rigid and the schools must plan before the summer who will be back the next fall. School starts in September, but the new CETA funds do not come until October. Likewise, where small subagents are mounting special components rather than just marginally expanding existing ones, the cycle exacerbates their problems because they are bringing on all new staff and then are at risk of losing all of them.

This scenario affects all aspects of operations. It leads to programs of the lowest common denominator--those with the least complexity that are extensions of existing efforts and which can be expanded or reduced with little problem. The interventions selected are short-term so that they can be surged and can have an immediate impact. Youth projects rarely consider multi-year or longer term sequences for individual participants and this can only be arranged by the prime sponsor by linking together activities. The staffing patterns of youth projects are also affected. Only certain types of persons are willing to live with the uncertainty or can be found on a moment's notice. Usually, they are uncredentialled. Likewise, they are mobile and tend to shop around and leave for other jobs, undermining stability of program delivery. The efficiency of activities is severely affected. It is usually well into the year's operation before effectiveness is achieved. The demonstration program experience is that local pre-employment assistance activities take at least 3 months to stabilize, that work projects are a 3-6 month proposition, and that alternate education arrangements may take 6-12 months. Peak enrollment may be past before operations stabilize. Also, there tends to be too much staff at the beginning and end of the grant period as enrollments are surged in the middle. Finally, there are very extensive costs involved in annual application for funding.

Multi-year funding makes sense and may be possible as Congress moves to a more orderly budget process. Certainly it would benefit program operations. A more stable allocation formula also makes sense for both equity and efficiency reasons.

3. Federal vs. Local Responsibilities. A major design and organizational issue is the division of responsibility between Federal, State and local government. Legislation must determine which programs and activities are most effectively operated from the Federal level and how national objectives can be assured under programs operated locally. The recent CETA experience provides some

insights. YEDPA and the implementing regulations increased the Federal direction of local systems. First, they strongly emphasized linkages between prime sponsors and other local institutions serving youth--the schools, vocational education and rehabilitation, drug abuse agencies, the Employment Service, and the apprenticeship system. Second, they tried to move the system to serve significant segments within the disadvantaged population, i.e., to target even among the income eligibles to those youth doubly and triply handicapped. Third, they attempted to make the CETA system more of a pass-through mechanism, for instance, requiring subcontracting with community based organizations. Fourth, they sought new mechanisms to protect against abuses such as the substitution of youth for existing workers. Fifth, they aimed to achieve process objectives such as youth involvement and private sector participation.

The evidence suggests that the linkage objective was achieved where the linkages were necessary for specific program purposes which had been dictated or decided at the local level. For instance, the additional funds for in-school activities combined with the Federal pressure for cooperation resulted in meaningful linkage, particularly where there was already a foundation, Other linkages were less fruitful. A Community Resource Inventory was mandated for each sponsor, but this did not produce much more than volumes of paper. Prime sponsors and their subagents do not strategize linkages as much as they programatically work them out when specific obstacles are faced. Linkages with drug treatment or welfare agencies occurred, but usually once the local desicionmakers decided to serve substance abusers or young parents. The State Occupational Information Coordinating Committees, work education councils and the like tended to gain leverage once tasks were defined so that collaboration could be translated into practical terms, For instance, Federal discretionary funds were provided to the SOICC's for matching with other State funds to support implementation of statewide computerized occupational information systems. This was a tangible issue to bring together the major players in the States and to move beyond generalized discussions. In other words, linkage arrangements are best achieved when related to specific activities and when there are incentives for all parties to cooperate.

The Federal objective to target resources to those most in need can be accomplished where an income standard can be utilized for eligibility and where the standard effectively identifies needs. When the groups to be served are more difficult to define and more costly or complicated to serve, Federal targeting objectives have less impact. Even under YCCIP, which was not limited to the disadvantaged, income targeting was achieved. However, subsegments such as offenders, solo parents and handicapped youth were not reached adequately. In YCCIP and YETP, these subsegments combined represented only an eighth of total enrollments. Currently, there are no financial or systemic rewards for extra effort on behalf of these groups. Again, incentives are necessary.

In operating youth programs, unlike in the operation of public service employment, the local prime sponsor has little temptation to run the activities directly or to limit them to government agencies as opposed to managing outside contractors and subagents. Schools are frequently outside the orbit of the chief-elected officials and other local agencies are not knocking down doors to get involved. Furthermore, Proposition 13 fall-out has limited the size of State and local staffs, and PSE cut-backs reduce flexibility to acquire supervisors and administrators through that program. Most youth programs are, as a result, operated on a pass-through basis by prime sponsors. YEDPA encouraged the pass-through by trying to dictate which organizations should receive funds. There were some problems with this approach. Under YCCIP, community-based groups were the presumptive deliverers. Some prime sponsors turned back the money saying it was not worth the trouble. Others broadly defined CBO's or simply ignored the requirement. Some followed the letter of the law but then paid little attention to the quality of operations. Incentives would, again, make more sense than procedural specifications since the Federal objective is not going against the grain of local youth programming.

The YEDPA procedures to avoid the undermining of local wage standards and the elimination of adult jobs could have left the Secretary of Labor as arbiter of local wage levels, but proved to be largely a rhetorical issue since there were almost no complaints about such effects because of rapid employment growth for adults and because the youth jobs rarely competed with existing employment. The process of labor union clearance occurred but it is questionable whether this had an effect, since local organized labor was hardly able to check each of the hundreds of thousands of youth jobs created. A simple complaint mechanism would have done as well.

More problematic is when the prime sponsor's concern with serving youth runs directly against other concerns. A 100 percent wage subsidy in the private sector could cause abuse if prime sponsors were free to pursue any jobs they could to achieve placements for participants. Either the eligibility must be restricted to youth so severely in need that there are few if any employers who would participate simply for the windfall, or there must be a mechanism to assure that the subsidized jobs provide upgrading opportunities for the workers filling them. In other words, Federal prescriptions must be stronger when the self-interest or service goals of the prime might lead to abuse.

Finally, Federal exhortations for "how" things should be accomplished have had little effect without incentives, specific outcome guidelines and without procedural specifications. Youth participation is a case in point. This occurred mostly under incentive grants specifically designed to achieve participation but rarely in regular program activities.

The common thread in these experiences is the need to tie Federal oabjectives to specific activities, to avoid generalized procedural requirements as much as possible, and certainly not to expect much from statements about desired processes as opposed to desired outcomes.

One problem with YEDPA was that the priorities were not clearly established among Federal objectives, and in many cases, were mutually exclusive, leaving prime sponsors to sort them out. For instance, primes were charged with providing meaningful career jobs for youth but not doing work that would displace existing employees, for dealing with CBO's and schools both, for giving "special consideration" but only when there was "demonstrated effectiveness." Leaving the resolution of uncertainty to prime sponsors also meant leaving them vulnerable to second-guessing by everybody with a special interest. It is important that where Federal goals are established in legislation or administratively, there should be prioritization legislatively or administratively.

While these lessons suggest how Federal objectives can be pursued in local programs, there is also some evidence about activities which are better directed from the Federal level. One area of Federal comparative advantage is in projects with potential for implementation in restricted areas, such as training programs related to Federal lands or on government-owned company-operated facilities. Another is programs involving mobility. The Federal Government is better able to concentrate resources since the pressure at the local level is to serve as many individuals as possible. Likewise, the Federal initiatives may be better at certain institutional changes which may be required locally, as well as in replicating, implementing or regulating new approaches. In other words, the Federal presence is most important in activities representing intensive investments in individuals, requiring more organization and planning, changing institutional arrangements, and emphasizing mobility.

Job Corps is one such program. Expansion has been balanced to distribute facilities more evenly relative to the universe of need, but each center will still draw from statewide or broader areas. Advanced career training has been emphasized, shifting the focus of Job Corps even more to longer term investments. This will involve the movement of participants among centers to enroll them in specialized advanced courses which are only economical under a nationwide program. The Job Corps represents a level of investment in each participant which is rarely achieved in local programs. The Job Corps has also proved to be a major equal opportunity mechanism in many areas where centers have been located.

The feasibility of interagency Federal youth programs has been demonstrated under YEDPA. A range of multi-site discretionary projects have been mounted through interagency agreements in which Department of Labor youth resources are transferred to and administered by other agencies, supplemented by their resources and expertise. These range from volunteer activities, post-secondary and vocational education, rural housing and health to urban restoration. Such interagency projects have accounted for a fourth of discretionary YETP and YCCIP activities. Experience has demonstrated interagency agreements need to be carefully developed at the outset to identify responsibility and to establish checks and balances in order to assure that youth employment and training objectives are not downplayed relative to the goals of the administering agencies. The key is the discretionary authority to fund or not fund these activities which gives strength in negotiating the agreements. The Youth Adult Conservation Corps has also been administered under an interagency agreement, but while the program has been successful, the administrative arrangements have not been most effective. The funding levels are set by law, and the Department of Labor must pass these funds through to Agriculture and Interior or else youth must be laid off. There is really no resolution in the case of disagreements. The Department of Labor has little if any effective control. If the objective is to assure service to disadvantaged youth in YACC, it could be better accomplished by a set-aside of slots rather than a tripartite administrative arrangement. In other words, the key in interagency activities is the clear discretionary authority of the funding agent.

Other potential Federal activities are large-scale projects. These could be developed and designed at the Federal level, although operated by States, or community based groups, or nonprofit intermediaries. Several models for such projects have been developed under YETP. For instance, one project provides for the conversion of low-head dams for hydroelectric production. This requires training, specialization, equipment and multi-site activities. The sites are located all over the country.

These projects take a special developmental and organizational effort before they can be launched. Local prime sponsors lack the resources and continuity to mount such projects without help since there are economies of scale which are only realized through large-scale or coordinated multi-site efforts.

4. Comparative Advantages of Delivery Institutions. YEDPA's goals of involving schools, community-based groups, local organized labor, the private sector and other local youth serving agencies, were based on the assumption that coordination and involvement would improve programs. While this is probably accurate on the average, there are costs to coordination, and certainly no single delivery mechanism is effective in all local circumstances. However, in deciding the degree of emphasis on linkages, there must be some sense of the average effectiveness of alternative deliverers.

Prime sponsors are clearly an effective mechanism for allocating and managing money. Given the volume of youth funding, it is amazing how few complaints there were about the subdivision of resources by prime sponsors. Fraud and abuse in CETA have been much publicized but there is evidence that only a miniscule portion of total allocations has ever been found to be misused or stolen. The volume of activity at the local level is staggering and there is no way the Federal Government could be as directly involved in local programs as it was in the 1960's. The direct funding of local projects and agents from Washington causes many problems of coordination, oversight, and equitable distribution in each locality.

In the local setting, prime sponsors appear to have a comparative advantage in intake, assessment and assignment of individuals as well as recordkeeping. The CETA accountability standards are now so great that there is almost no way to operate a local program without centralizing management information systems. With YEDPA, a number of prime sponsors have established separate youth divisions to handle management information as well as planning, intake and assessment activity for local youth programs. In other words, a bifurcation has already occurred in many areas between youth and adult systems. Prime sponsors vary in their emphasis on direct delivery of services. YETP and YCCIP move them away from this approach. It would appear that primes are most effective as the allocating and management agent, and are only a deliverer at last resort.

Local education agencies and their interest in employment and training programs are highly variable, making generalization difficult. Academic credit arrangements have basically occurred where classroom pre-employment assistance activities have been funded. There has not been significant adaptation by the cooperative education system, although the personnel has used in some schools, with public sector jobs for the disadvantaged funded by YETP added on top of the private sector cooperative education jobs primarily for the nondisadvantaged. Alternative schools have been funded locally under YETP where local education agencies were ready to head in this direction but lacked resources. It would appear, then, that there has not, as yet, been any major change in the structure or goals of educational institutions, but rather adaptation in order to secure additional resources. As the Charter for youth programs put it, the resources and efforts have promoted change but have not been the "cutting edge."

If it were not for the availability of outside funds tied to serving the disadvantaged, it is not at all clear that the local education agencies would have carried out these new missions. School-to-work transition services are a case in point. These services are always the first to be retrenched when local education agency budgets are tight. The outside funding source is necessary to assure that these services will be offered and concentrated on youth most in need. Schools have demonstrated a willingness to let in outside community-based groups to offer such services. They provide the natural setting in which such activities can occur. Yet, there is nothing in the YEDPA experience to suggest that the same targeting would have occurred with direct funding of schools.

Community-based groups also vary markedly within as well as between prime sponsors, and the comparative advantages in program delivery have not been measured. It appears from activity levels that such groups are better in serving out-of-school than in-school youth, and in targeting resources on the harder to reach and special needs segments. One might also reasonably assume a comparative advantage in pre-employment and transition services which require contact, rapport and support. The YCCIP experience has suggested some of the difficulties in mounting very small, short-term projects with limited staff. The quality of YCCIP projects is highly variable. Larger local CBO's are, of course, at no disadvantage in mounting such projects and are effective in integrating adult and youth activities locally where they have achieved the needed scale.

Local organized labor and the private sector have been directly involved in the operation of programs in very few locations. While projects resulting from their involvement are laudable and should be encouraged, it does not appear that this can become a major element of local programming because of the enormous administrative effort needed to energize and coordinate all the players. The extra effort makes the most sense for career training and entry efforts, where the linkages are needed directly into adult jobs, where more is being invested per individual, and where fewer participants locally are involved. The current apprenticeship system appears to be used to capacity in the sense that preapprenticeship efforts are already at a scale several times that of entry apprenticeship opportunities for disadvantaged young people. Expansion of apprenticeship opportunities must be a part of any increased priority on apprenticeship linkages under youth programs. Expansion of apprenticeship opportunities, particularly for low-income youth, would require the introduction of some type of financial incentives for employees.

The use of volunteers and parents in youth programs has not yet been explored. It is safe to say that this dimension could be expanded since there is currently so little involvement.

Finally, there is the question of the effectiveness of work/education councils, private industry councils and the like. The evidence is, again, not yet in. Hopefully, these bodies could serve to bring together local individuals serving like purposes. They could work in linkage and coordination processes. Their advantages in program delivery are subject to question, although some tangible actions are necessary to coalesce interests.

5. Planning. The manpower planning paradigm is central to the present design and organization of local youth employment and training programs. The paradigm assumes that analysis of the local universe of need will lead to the selection of target groups and activities from which a plan of services can be derived which can be reviewed with citizen's input to assure equity. The plan then becomes an annual commitment which can be enforced from the Federal level, with modifications whenever changes occur. This conceptual approach is so deeply rooted in the law and regulations that it has become almost a "sacred cow." However, there are some serious flaws in the application to youth programs.

First, the research that has been completed to date under YETP indicates unequivocably that the employment and unemployment measures which are the basis for any universe of need analysis have questionable meaning when describing the problems of youth. Even at the national level, the true measure of youth unemployment varies in different surveys by as much as 50 percent. The count includes out-of-school, 18-year-old heads of households the same way it does in-school 16-year-olds looking for 4 hours of work every Saturday. The data are totally inadequate at the local level even if they were meaningful. Further, the point-in-time measures result in a static analysis of a problem which must be considered from a dynamic perspective.

Second, decisions at the local level are, and should be, driven much more by experience with clients and delivery agents than the planning paradigm allows or assumes. The universe of need is an abstraction without knowledge of what lies behind the numbers--i.e., who is being served and what the service descriptors really mean. Given the wide range in possible costs of serving different groups, and the wide range in the severity of problems within any demographically enumerable category, decisions by number counts are relatively specious.

Third, process evaluations of YETP and YCCIP implementation indicate that the planning process in most cases occurs separately from funding decisions. Prime sponsor staff essentially decide what needs to be done based on experience factors; the plans are developed to justify these decisions and then rubber-stamped by planning councils.

Fourth, citizens on planning councils are not well equipped to handle abstract and quantitative exercises. If they, instead, were observing operations and participants, they could better understand what lay behind the numbers and could make more informed decisions. The numerology in planning is more frequently than not an impediment to citizen input.

Fifth, plans are used as enforcement documents even when this does not make sense. Almost any set of activities can be justified by labor market body counts and a wide range of activities can be mounted whatever may be put on paper. The Department of Labor must not act as if the decisions reached at the start of a year are sacrosant. Modifications must be made when changes are proposed even though these must almost always be granted because any set of activities within bounds is justifiable. There is a paper exercise of modification and approval. Corrective actions are difficult during the course of the year because of the innate lags in data, analysis and action.

All this recommends a shift to a different approach under youth programs. Planning should be much more oriented towards consideration of program experience based on participant interviews, worksite visits and institutional considerations. The plan should not be an enforcement document. In other words, there is need and justification for substantial departures from the CETA administrative approaches which may be appropriate for adult programs but make little sense for youth preparatory efforts.

Managing Youth Employment and Training Programs

Assuming that we know the types of activities that work best, adapt the most positive underlying approaches and design the programs correctly, then the burden is upon management to make them effective. Much has been learned in the last 2 years about the management of localized programs.

1. Capacity of Prime Sponsors. On top of the most rapid job creation effort in history--the economic stimulus public service employment expansion--CETA added the largest and most rapid job creation effort for youth. The system was required to make substantive changes in administrative and organizational approaches in implementing the two new formula programs. Additionally, prime sponsors mounted hundreds of nationally directed demonstration projects, each requiring sophistication and care to meet experimental requirements. The quality of the summer program

was addressed at the same time, generating increased burdens but leading to an improved program. Yet the CETA prime sponsor network was able to meet all of these demands with surprisingly few failures. If one thing has been proven, it is the durability and yet adaptability of the CETA administrative framework.

The capacity to expand rapidly has certainly been demonstrated. YEDPA was passed in August 1977. By March 1978, there were 129,000 enrolled in brand new prime sponsor programs; and at the peak in July 1978, there were over 200,000. This same incremental expansion could be repeated. The annualized cost of the peak enrollment achieved in July 1978 under YETP, YCCIP and YIEPP would be $1.2 billion in fiscal 1981. In other words, based on demonstrated experience, the local system could quite easily absorb any likely level of expansion in any one year.

The Entitlement experience provides insights concerning the ultimate management constraints on expansion. In the seven sites where the Entitlement area included large jurisdictions, the level of youth activity was multiplied severalfold. While startup problems were experienced, all were manageable and the systems continued. Admittedly, the Entitlement sponsors were picked through competition, but they ended up representing a good mixture of prime sponsors as judged by annual Department of Labor ratings. The experimental dimensions of Entitlement required many administrative adjustments that would not be necessary under regular programs. In other words, this suggests a capacity to both change and expand dramatically. The YEDPA experience would, however, suggest the usefulness of a longer gestation period if new approaches are to be most effectively implemented. From the passage of YEDPA to full implementation, there was not time to develop new features such as models of academic credit for work experience or occupational information guidelines. As a result, prime sponsors had to make decisions without guidance and to move ahead. The 6 months from August passage to November phaseup were simply not enough time to prepare properly. Entitlement had a longer planning time and more energy was devoted to design and management, but many problems were encountered which could have been avoided with a little less haste. In fact, enrollments had to be curtailed for short periods in several sites to get breathing room for improvements. This experience suggests that if radically changed procedures are to be implemented, a longer development period would be wise.

2. Management Information Shortcomings. There are several other management areas which need and have potential for improvement based upon YEDPA experience. The most basic need is to keep better track of activities. There has always been difficulty within CETA tracking on youth participation levels and expenditures at the prime sponsor level, and this was compounded by the addition of two new categorical programs. The problem begins with the discriptors of activities. These are more meaningful for adults than youth. Work experience usually means 35-40 hours of work when it is an activity for adults; for youth it may mean 5 hours of employment weekly for students but 35 hours for out-of-school youth. Classroom training for adults usually implies full-time skill training; for youth it may be world-of-work exposure several hours a week in a school setting. Adults who are enrolled are usually receiving a specific service; in youth programs, they are much more frequently in "holding" awaiting a linkage with another activity. The separate summer program has created problems because many of the enrollees are transferred from the comprehensive program for the summer months, some are terminated and re-enrolled, but the exact numbers are unknown so there is double counting and sometimes triple counting.

Youth participation in all activities is generally of a short duration. It is common practice for youth programs to over-enroll to a level of 125-150 percent of slot levels as a means of insuring that available funds for youth wages and allowances will be expended within the contract time period in spite of high youth turnover. Many out-of-school young people, particularly those who are under 19 years of age, float from one program to another after brief spells of enrollment in any one particular program. The average program stay for CETA participants 18-24 years of age is 160 days; for those under 18 years of age, the average stay is only 109 days.

Because records are kept and reported separately for activity levels, costs, and participant characteristics, rather than on an individualized basis which would combine all this information for each participant, it is difficult to determine aggregate service levels. For instance, it is usual to talk about youth served by adding enrollments in SYEP, YCCIP, YETP and the count reported in Title II.B. It is common also to estimate expenditures under Title II.B. by multiplying the youth share of participants times the costs. Yet inter-title transfers and concurrent enrollments are common practice. For instance, youth may get work through YCCIP and enrichment under Title II.B. They are often enrolled both in SYEP and YETP or Title II.B. A best guess is that the total of individuals receiving youth services over a year is at least a third less than the aggregate of the participant counts. Because youth have a shorter stay, and are in less expensive components, the youth share of expenditures under Title II.B. is far less than their share of participants.

With these aggregate shortcomings, it is obviously difficult to find out if youth most in need are receiving more services. For instance, it has been the practice in the past to "cream" enrollees into PSE, which is a high cost activity, and to put less employable youth in pre-employment assistance, which is a much lower cost activity. Characteristics and cost data are kept separately so this "creaming" is not easily identified. The records also do not keep track over time, although some tracking is now required by the service limits set in the CETA reauthorization. There is no way to tell in most prime sponsor areas what cumulative activities have occurred for a particular individual or a set of individuals over the years of development and transition, or whether those most in need are receiving the most intensive cumulative services.

Elimination of separate categorical programs at the local level will solve some but not all of the problems. It is necessary, somehow, to combine reports on activity levels, expenditures by activity and participant characteristics if there is to be a good knowledge of who gets what. There must be better discriptors of activities and activity clusters. Participation must be defined to ensure that it is substantive rather than in "holding." The records must be cumulative for individuals.

3. Assessing Performance. Traditionally under employment and training programs, outcome measures have been used to assess performance in the belief that programs should increase employment and earnings and that this should be observable in the post-program period. The same approach has been used in assessing performance nationwide, at the prime sponsor level, and among subagents. Unfortunately, this approach has little meaning for youth programs, particularly those offering pre-employment assistance and short-term work experience, enrolling in-school youth, and those with a developmental focus. For instance, in the summer program, 90 percent of participants return to school; only

the 10 percent who do not return to school are at risk in the sense that the termination data say they either terminate positively or nonpositively. It is completely unclear how many are returning to school who would not have done so without the program, and the nonpositive termination percentage is more than coincidently similar to the proportion of dropouts who enter the program.

Termination status alone tells little or nothing without knowledge of what would have occurred without the intervention. Pre-/post-changes do not mean much for youth because, first, there is a maturation process usually manifested in increased earnings and stability of employment, and second, those who are unemployed are likely to become employed and vice versa in the volatile youth period. Therefore, an intervention might increase employment over a period of time but this might not be measurable in the immediate post-termination period. The answer would be to find a control group of youth who are not served, but this cannot be constructed ex-post-facto to determine net impacts from

The sober truth is that it is extremely difficult to judge impacts of short-term youth programs without random assignment control groups because of the variations in young people which cannot be picked up in demographic variables. Even in these cases, the impacts can only be measured when there are large sample sizes and carefully defined interventions. Trying to determine whether a single project or a pot-pourri of approaches and client groups is effectively run is simply impossible based on outcome data, at least when the intervention is short-term, and most impacts have only a long-term developmental payoff.

Although termination data for youth programs have little real meaning, the use of this data to judge performance creates some undesirable incentives. Intervention strategies which are least risky or intensive and which have the highest likelihood of placement outcomes will be emphasized whenever heavy priority is placed on termination data to judge performance. Youth most likely to have positive outcomes will be served. Because demographic variables mask the broad diversity of youth since the potential of individuals has not yet been tested, it is relatively easy to "cream" within any enforceable demographic targeting categories, and the incentives can have a strong effect. Moreover, numbers tend to become a substitute for careful review. It is enlightening that when serious problems were found as a result of intensive monitoring of SYEP in eleven cities in 1979, some of the worst problem cases were not with prime sponsors adjudged to have significant problems by CETA-wide reviews even though in several cases their large summer programs were extremely deficient.

The best way to judge the adequacy of youth employment and training efforts is to look at the quality of inputs rather than the outcomes. In the summer program, for instance, where the outcome data yields next to nothing, the program had serious and widespread problems in the quality of the worksite activity--slack time and attendance procedures, too little work for participants and poor supervision. These could only be assessed by onsite reviews. Once the prime sponsors and the Department of Labor intensified the monitoring for such visible input problems in the last 2 years, the quality dramatically increased. Sophisticated random assignment demonstration programs were mounted under SYEP last year to test ways to increase return-to-school rates, to make the summer experience a better transitional mechanism from school leavers, and to serve troubled youth. Because of the controlled conditions, the impacts could be measured for these structured sets of summer activities. If successful approaches are discovered, these can be implemented by developing models and assuring that they are adopted in local programs, or, again, focusing on the input side.

The experience, then, is that inputs must be assessed rather than outputs in judging performance of prime sponsors and projects. Demonstration activity and structured evaluations can, in the case of large samples, suggest the most effective inputs. Program generated outcome data may be effective in measuring performance of adult programs, but it is not for youth activities.

4. Directing Performance. It is apparent that a system which has difficulty tracking activities, participants and costs, and which is using measurements of performance which are not entirely meaningful, it not in a strong position to fine-tune the content of programs. Faced with these assessment problems, there has been a heavy reliance on process and activity level specifications. YEDPA and its implementing regulations were incredibly detailed, with a 22 percent set-aside for in-school programs, supervisor-to-youth ratios, the proscription of substitution, the requirement for enrichment of work with services under YETP and a proscription

of the same thing under YCCIP. Procedures were required for special consideration, agreements with local education agencies, labor union clearance, and the development of community resource inventories to promote linkages. There is documented evidence that most of the major goals which were the focus of these requirements and specifications were attained: There was increased cooperation with the schools. Worksite supervision apparently improved. Substitution was held in check. And community based organizations got a larger share of the pie. This does not mean, however, that the procedures and approaches were the means to these ends or the most effective ones which could have been employed.

It is widely assumed that because education/CETA linkages increased under YETP, that the 22 percent set-aside and the LEA/CETA agreement requirement were the key factors; and it is sometimes projected from this that more of the same is needed if further cooperation is to be achieved. Yet the 22 percent set-aside did not really "torque" the system since under Title I of CETA in 1977, more than half of the enrollees were under in-school programs and in fact, the aggregate mix of youth activities in local CETA-funded programs changed little after the implementation of YCCIP and YETP. LEA/CETA agreements in most cases were general boilerplate statements. Real changes occurred where the extra resources under YETP provided the wherewithal for collaboration which had already been nurtured, and where primes and the schools simply got the message that cooperation was fashionable. The same collaboration might have been achieved simply by the mandate that when in-school programs were developed, there should be an attempt to involve educators more in the process. In other words, the procedures were a signal rather than the driving force in change.

Another example is the supervisor-to-youth requirement specified in the regulations. Case studies have suggested that the attention to worksite quality has been greater under YETP and YCCIP than under previous prime sponsor youth programs. However, the worksite assessments found little correlation between supervisor ratios and quality, and also found fewer youth per supervisor under previous programs. Apparently, the work quality was improved by the clear statement that this was a priority, not by the procedural requirements.

Special consideration for community based groups was defined almost as presumptive delivery in the case of YCCIP, and more in process terms for YETP. Community and neighborhood groups got a bigger piece of the action under YCCIP. Yet some primes had to work hard to find any capable community based deliverers; others returned the money; most funded and then forgot the YCCIP projects, failing to integrate them into *the local system*. *Special consideration under* YETP meant a paper process of notification and selection which caused a lot of unrequited expectations, particularly where a fair share was already going to community groups and the only effect was to heighten internal competition. Incentives and clear direction could probably have achieved the same objectives as procedural requirements.

One of the inconsistencies of YEDPA was the requirement that all in-school work experience be enriched with counseling, occupational information and efforts to overcome sex stereotyping, while YCCIP was, by law, a "sweat" program emphasizing hard work without enrichment. All disadvantaged students who are looking for jobs do not need the extras, while many of the out-of-school youth in YCCIP do. To get around the rules, many prime sponsors paid for the services to YCCIP youth from other programs. The simple fact is that no rule specifying a mix of services should be or can be applied across the board. Individual needs vary. There is a temptation to dictate activity combinations or sequences through law or regulation in order to shift the aggregate average mix, but this creates operational problems at the local level and does not lead to the most appropriate mix of services for individuals.

Probably the most difficult issue in the law is the requirement for maintenance of youth service levels. Youth participation under the comprehensive CETA Title II.B. (previously Title I) local program was not to be reduced because of the resources added by YETP and YCCIP, freezing prime sponsors to a youth service level that was not necessarily appropriate and which varied markedly from one area to another. Over time, any rule such as this becomes more and more unrealistic. It is also almost impossible to enforce since the participant counts can be easily manipulated and do not equate with resource outlays. Further, prime sponsors are allowed 15 percent variation from planned enrollment levels in order to give them needed flexibility, but this variation from the announced youth share is enough to offset a substantial portion of the impact of YETP and YCCIP. Clearly, the proper approach would be to consolidate all activities for which Congress wants to specify through formula the local service levels.

If these various procedural specifications do not make a great deal of sense, they do require a great deal of paperwork. Limited Federal and prime sponsor staffs spend almost all their time processing papers to document processes and to meet specific requirements. The Federal Representatives are not out in the field looking at programs but rather seeking to determine whether notification letters are in the files, whether modification requests are consistent with youth service levels, and whether Community Resource Inventories have been completed. None of this has anything to do with the quality of the activities being funded.

Perhaps most critically, the cards are stacked against enforcement of reasonable standards. Prime sponsors violate regulations simply because there are so many procedures to meet which do not make sense in local circumstances. The only real penalty for ignoring or bending the regulations is recovery of funds, but the issues for which this has ever been done are limited. The prime sponsors are provided funds by formula. To recover these funds, the burden of proof is on the Federal enforcers and the case must be quite compelling, particularly since enforcement is ex-post-facto and means reducing services to participants. It would be preferable to have an incentive system where certain funds are only available if the prime proves that it comes up to standards and meets conditions, so that the burden of proof would be shifted. It is also difficult to judge both quality and procedural dimensions at the same time Bureauracies are much better with the latter than the former. They are unlikely to exercise normative judgements even in cases where the conclusions are obvious. For instance, in some summer program sites in the past, it was well known that most enrollees were not being provided useful work experience. This was documented by independent onsite monitoring of inputs, but it was only changed after extensive outside pressure and as a result of an ad hoc effort that brought national office personnel and others without any vested interest in particular sites to handle the monitoring. Management studies have revealed that almost all the time of regular Federal Representatives with front-line responsibilities are spent in the office processing papers rather than in the field. In part, this is testimony to the complexities of our society. But in part, it is also because procedural specifications and quantitative reviews have been overemphasized.

5. Capacity Building. YEDPA thrust the CETA system into some unfamiliar areas such as the awarding of academic credit for work experience, alternative education, occupational information systems, and efforts to overcome sex-stereotyping. The reach of youth employment programs is so broad in terms

of the participant groups to be served, the problems that have to be overcome, and the service options, that enormous expertise is required. Specialized knowledge is required to deal with handicapped youth, substance abusers, runaways, solo parents and offenders. Likewise, knowledge is required of career education, vocational education, cooperative education, alternative and post-secondary education options, governance systems and institutional capacities.

Surprisingly little priority has been given to building the capacity of the CETA system. In contrast to education and vocational education where there is an enormous investment in the certification of personnel and in continuing training, there has been little attention to this under CETA. Prime sponsors have been given the regulations and then left to work out the answers. The continuing expansion and reorientation of CETA each year has focused most attention on delivery and adaptation to ever-changing rules. Procedures have to be continually relearned at the expense of the substance of programming. Because of expansion, CETA has been able to attract extremely bright and energetic persons at the local level, but there is high turnover rate within the system, generating a need for continual retraining.

It is clear that a much expanded effort is needed to build delivery and management capacity. One key is State participation. Prime sponsors are localized but many of the activities with which they must deal in youth programs are State systems--education, corrections, welfare, vocational education and the like. States must play a central role in coordination. Currently, there are substantial funds for these purposes set aside on a formula basis, but these have not been carefully coordinated at the Federal level or in most States. Federal incentives, for instance, in the replication of computerized occupational information systems, have been used with some effect under discretionary YETP activities, but much better networking is possible and needed.

Community based organizations and prime sponsors have grappled with the concept of "demonstrated effectiveness" and the "chicken and egg" implications this has for youth serving agencies and neighborhood groups at the local level which have not had previous contact with CETA to demonstrate their ability. Support for community based groups other than CAA's mostly has to come from the administrative portion of operating grants; this is not a very dependable way of building viable organizations at the local level. There is also no mechanism for developing community based capacity where none now exists, so there continues to be an uneven distribution. The answer is not just to set-aside program operating dollars; without the capacity, set-asides debase the quality of services and may or may not result in building institutional strength over time. If the community and neighborhood based orientation is to continue, there must be greater concern and priority for direct institutional support.

The Department of Labor has networked some organizations such as Opportunities Industrialization Centers (OIC), SER-Jobs for Progress, and the National Urban League as well as 70001, yet there are no general incentives to prime sponsors to undertake developmental work, no support of other networks of community groups, and too limited technical assistance support even for groups which have been helped.

Prime sponsor staff receive all too little assistance from the Federal level because of limited funds. While administrative resources can be used for staff development, each prime sponsor has to work out its own arrangements and there is no incentive for such activities. Not surprisingly, they are often pushed to the "back burner" by critical events. Under the summer program, national conferences and extensive technical assistance materials prepared at the national level apparently had a positive impact on operations, suggesting that investments at the Federal level can have a payoff. Substantive activity areas need to be addressed so that prime sponsors can effectively cope with their responsibilities in education, social change and the like. There also must be expanded networking to educate youth serving agencies into the mysteries of employment and training programs.

Finally, there is a need to vigorously market the results of experimental and demonstration programs. As has been suggested, the most effective way to find out what works best is random assignment, control group experiments; the way to improve performance is to find out the most effective models and then to replicate them in local settings. All reviews of research and demonstration activity in the 1960's suggest that the weak link was in the dissemination and application of findings. A vast array of experimental activities has been undertaken under YEDPA. As the findings are generated in the next several years, it is absolutely critical that they be disseminated aggressively. The massive investment in knowledge development will not realize its payoff unless there is an equal effort in knowledge dissemination and application.

New Directions

The analysis of youth employment problems and the lessons from program experience suggest the need to reorient youth employment and employability development efforts along the following lines:

1. The performance requirements for youth participants and the performance standards for youth employment and training activities must be increased. Publicly-funded work experience must require and deliver "a day's work for a day's pay." Remedial training and education demand attendance and conscientious effort. There must be rewards for good individual performance, safety nets for those who are unable to perform, but termination for those who are unwilling. The same must apply for service deliverers.

2. The system must provide for a multi-year sequencing of activities which will build competencies including, first, the coping skills needed to look for and hold a beginning job and to set career courses, second, the ability to work dependably at an entry job, third, basic reading and writing skills, and fourth, a career job skill. Each individual may develop at his or her own pace in attaining these competencies; some will need little or no help while others will require a structured series of activities over several years. The system must be able to track development of individuals, and to provide assistance based on previous experiences in the program. It must be an individualized approach.

3. The attainment of these competencies over time must be benchmarked. The recognition of accomplishment will provide individual incentives. The benchmark can be used in prescribing services on an individualized basis. Most critically, it can provide a proof to employers of the abilities and commitment of young people who might otherwise be considered too "risky" to hire. Youth programs must give increasing emphasis to sorting among disadvantaged individuals so that those with ability and motivation can use the experience as a stepping stone.

4. Policies, programs and prescriptions for specific participants must take greater cognizance of the individual developmental process. On the average, although certainly not for every youth, intensive remedial education and career training will not be fruitful until the late teens or early twenties. The same holds for career entry efforts. Fourteen- and fifteen-year-olds should generally receive broadly-focused services which are less costly. For in-school and out-of-school teenagers whose problem is the lack of temporary jobs, disciplined work is needed which increases in demand, duration and reward with age.

PRACTITIONERS' PERSPECTIVES ON YOUTH PROGRAMS

BY

Henry M. Brickell

To determine operational perspectives on youth programs, the National Institute of Education and the Vice President's Task Force on Youth Employment assembled a Practitioner's Roundtable of noted educators. This synopsis of the discussion suggests that there is some consensus about what is needed to solve the employment problems of youth.

Successful Program Features

The practitioners agreed that good programs have most of these features, among others:

1. Job information is infused into the school curriculum by classroom teachers and guidance counselors.
2. Program coordinators take care in matching young people to work situations which they will find interesting and motivating in light of future career preferences.
3. Specific learning objectives for the work experience are defined for young people before the experience begins.
4. Employability skills are taught in relation to the real work experience.
5. Young people are treated as equals at the work site.
6. One-to-one relationships between young people and adults are developed successfully at the workplace.
7. Adults who exhibit sound work values and ethics are used as role models for minority youth.
8. Program coordinators involve the families of participating minority youths in order to provide greater support for them.
9. Program staff are stable and experienced.

10. Education-work councils are established in the community to link schools and employers and to give employers a sense of ownership about the program.

Making Youth Employable

The practitioners listed a long series of characteristics that make youths unemployable. The composite profile--drawn from their knowledge of thousands of young people seeking jobs--included most undesirable human characteristics. But central to the series was a limited cluster of attributes already identified by employers as the chief barriers to unemployment. That cluster consisted of the absence of:

- o Basic skills--being able to read, write, and compute.
- o Reasoning skills--being able to see relationships, solve problems, and make decisions.
- o Interpersonal skills--being able to get along with other workers, supervisors, customers and clients.

A distant fourth in the cluster, partly because employers do not demand them in many entry-level jobs, was:

- o Salable skills--being able to perform the specific tasks required in specific jobs.

It appears that the skills listed are an interlocked set, mutually reinforcing, hard to disentangle and thus difficult to teach in a sequence. The solution is to teach them simultaneously in a closely interwoven pattern of study and work, with each blending easily into the other and with students ideally studying what they are working on and working on what they are studying. Then the linkages between successes in one place and successes in the other could become apparent to them. For many unemployed youth, that would be a revelation.

Brokering Work Experience

Majority youth can locate jobs for themselves more easily than minority youth because majority youth:

1. Have the same socioeconomic characteristics as most employers.
2. Have more friends and relatives who are employed and thus are better positioned to make job contacts for them.

3. Have more confidence and a better sense of how to sell themselves to adults.

Even so, the coordinators of work internship programs for majority youth often sell specific employers on hiring specific young people. They find it easier to persuade an employer to open up a suitable job slot if they can name a young person with a strong interest in an internship with that particular company. The approach also converts the young person from a statistic into a personality and raises the employer's interest in helping the intern achieve his or her purposes while working.

Minority youth especially need a brokered approach for their work experiences. Program coordinators should approach an employer not with an abstract description of a work experience program, but with specific minority youths who have a firm interest in working with that employer and persuade the employer to hire them. That kind of individual selling is time consuming even for small programs and may not be practical in large city programs.

An alternative--cheaper, more feasible, but probably less effective--would be distributing booklets of short descriptive profiles of youth interested in working. Employers could study the profiles, choose those young people who would best suit their needs, and contact the coordinators to make final arrangements.

Rotating Through Work Experiences

Whether a youth should be given one job or many in work experience programs is a fundamental question which program designers and coordinators face. Both practices have advantages.

With job rotation every six to eight weeks, youths:

1. Get firsthand impressions of a variety of working situations (i.e., working conditions, rewards, types of co-workers, skills needed) and thus gain a broader perspective on jobs available to them in the future, helping themselves avoid being locked into a menial job because they were unaware of the alternatives (a particular problem for minority youths).

2. Learn something brand new with each new job (that is what interns say, if they have participated in more than one internship) and thus do not become bored with their experiences.

3. Gain more adaptable interpersonal skills from working with a variety of employers and co-workers with different demands and learning to get along with all of them.

4. Avoid being trapped in a bad working situation which cannot be adequately ameliorated by the program coordinator.

With one in-depth experience of six to eight months, youths:

1. Concentrate on one job and learn the skills needed to perform it very well, thus giving them salable skills in that type of work.
2. Develop a close one-to-one relationship with an adult at the workplace who then becomes an important role model for the youths (particularly valuable for minority youths who often lack sufficient role models in their homes and communities).
3. Learn to accept and deal with the frustrations of a working situation day after day over time, just like in a permanent job.
4. Are administratively easier for the program coordinators to handle because placements and their accompanying paperwork are done much less frequently.

One of two compromises might give youths the advantages of each. First, youth might be rotated through several different jobs in one work site, e.g., several divisions of a major company (marketing, production, accounting) or several jobs within a small government agency (receptionist, accounting clerk, secretary). That gives youths the advantages of a variety of job responsibilities and some different co-workers and gives the coordinators the advantage of less trouble than rotation to different work sites.

Second, a two-tiered system of work experience could be designed so that youths were initially rotated through jobs--while they were gaining appropriate interpersonal skills and learning to cope in a working situation--then channelled into a single job as part of a more disciplined vocational training program. That is soon enough for youths to learn actual salable skills they might use on the job someday.

Providing Alternative Learning Environments

For minority youth who reject the traditional school approach, there ought to be other menus available. They should include alternative school/work schedules such as:

- Periods of full-time work interspersed with periods of full-time school.
- Part-time work combined with part-time school.
- Educative work environments where learning and productive employment occur simultaneously.

But those environments should differ not only in the way school and work are scheduled. They should offer other features deliberately designed to differentiate them sharply from traditional schools where minority youth often fail to find fulfillment. Here are some of those features:

- A small group of students--fewer than 100--who can form a true community.
- A balance of minority and majority youth.
- A high degree of student responsibility for governing the school and/or work environments.
- A faculty which volunteered for the school and is dedicated to preserving its special character.
- Independent study, peer tutoring, field trips, internships, extensive use of media, classes at colleges, courses in companies, semesters in proprietary schools--all these and other nontraditional instructional options.
- Money for learning rather than grades for learning.
- Frequent contact with adults in work and non-work settings.
- Frequent association with successful adults with the same backgrounds as the minority youth.
- A separate building lacking the schoolhouse look, set among buildings used for non-school purposes.
- Community services projects planned and carried out by the young people.
- Performance rather than attendance as the standard for progress and graduation.
- Open entry and open exit so that students can move in and out readily.

In short, the alternatives should differ in significant respects from what minority youth find objectionable in current patterns of schooling.

Expanding Private Sector Employment

There are several good reasons for expanding minority employment in the private sector:

1. Most jobs are in the private sector.
2. Private sector jobs are considerably more diverse.
3. The private sector can be expected to expand at a faster rate in the next decade.
4. Productivity requirements for entry-level jobs in the private sector are likely to be higher.
5. The vulnerability of the private sector--especially the vulnerability of small businesses--will confront young workers with more demands for teamwork and dedication to the enterprise to help make it succeed.

Evidently, minority youths are not employable at the current minimum wage and must be made attractive to employers by reducing their costs. This can be done either by lowering the minimum wage for young workers--say those under 21--or by having the government subsidize their wages. In either case, the private employer will pay less.

If the minimum wage is lowered, young minority workers would suffer an economic penalty for whatever characteristics make them unattractive to employers at the minimum wage. Presumably, they could command a higher wage as soon as they overcame or offset those shortcomings. Meanwhile, their subminimum wages would serve as an incentive to them to improve their skills and earn more money.

If their wages were subsidized, on the other hand, the taxpayers rather than the workers would suffer the economic penalty for the workers' shortcomings and would pay that penalty until they were corrected. That would serve as an incentive to the taxpayers to support educational and training programs for subsidized minority youth to make them employable at the minimum wage without a subsidy.

Given the probable political resistance to lowering the minimum wage--even for those under 21--subsidizing wages for minority youth would be more feasible. If wages were to be subsidized, private employers should be required to provide some proportion of non-subsidized jobs for minority youths in return for participating in the subsidy program. A reasonable ratio might be one non-subsidized job for every two subsidized jobs.

On the assumption that private employers would not hire minority youth unless it were made profitable, what is the public's interest in increasing the profitability of private employers? The public benefits would include these:

1. Minority youth would obtain private sector jobs otherwise not available to them.
2. At least part of the costs of providing a minimum income to minority youth would be borne by the private sector.
3. The public cost of the wage subsidy would be less than the cost of unemployment compensation and/or welfare payments.
4. The public would receive tax revenues from the the additional profit.

Monitoring Work Experience

Majority youth often complain about having school people visiting their work sites to monitor their activities. They feel that such visits lower their stature as the equals of other workers, who are monitored only by their employers. That equal stature is something they strive to achieve, something program coordinators want them to attain. Achieving it is both more difficult and more important for minority youth. How, then, should the work of those youth be monitored?

But first, consider the reasons for monitoring:

- To check with the student on the educational value of the work experience and to advise the employer on how to improve it.
- To check with the employer on the attendance, attitude, and performance of the student and to advise the student on how to improve.
- To strengthen relations of program staff with students and employers.
- To collect ideas for program redesign.

Possible monitors include program staff, classroom teachers, and employers. The cost of sending program staff or teachers often enough to be influential is too high and can be objectionable to students, even though the staff and teachers might learn to connect the classroom to the workplace through such visits. The cost of using employers as monitors would be low and not objectionable to students, but employers might not design educational work experiences.

One possibility would be to collect both students' and employers' appraisals on paper or by telephone. Another would be for the program staff to sponsor occasional exchanges between teachers and employers so that the program staff could point out how each could connect his or her work with that of the other.

Evaluating Youth Employment Programs

Without summative evaluation, program coordinators are unable to judge whether they have accomplished their objectives, at least in programs with an educational slant. If their objective is to get young people into jobs to earn a paycheck, that can be evaluated simply by counting the young people participating and taking credit for each one. If, on the other hand, their objective is to provide both a job and an education about the youth's relationship to the world of work at the same time, a more complex evaluation is necessary.

1. The Third-Party Independent Evaluator. An external evaluator with a fresh perspective on a program is invaluable in identifying both strengths and weaknesses of the program. Because of the evaluator's technical expertise, he/she can offer alternative evaluation techniqes and help a program coordinator choose those most appropriate, given time, political, and financial constraints. The evaluator can question--in writing, by telephone, or in person--a wide variety of populations--students, teachers, counselors, employers, parents--at a coordinator's request. And once done,the detached expertise of the evaluator lends credibility to the evaluator's judgment of the program's success.

2. The Peer Review Team. A practice borrowed from regular vocational education program evaluation and regional accreditation of schools, peer review teams can offer the expertise of colleagues working successfully on the same kinds of programs. These teams customarily spend most of their time dealing with the processes rather than the outcomes of programs--that is, with the teaching rather than the learning. But they look at all aspects of a program--goals and objectives, curriculum, instructional practices, faculty size and qualifications, counseling and placement services

for students, facilities and equipment--and gather data on these topics from many sources, including records and documents, students, teachers, guidance counselors, administrators, employers, parents, and so on. Peer review teams have an intimate understanding of the field available only to those who work in it every day; that cannot be matched by outsiders.

3. The Youths. Youths are ultimately the best judges of program strengths and weaknesses--if the program meets their needs, they will enroll; if it does not, they will not. They judge quickly and decisively. Word-of-mouth passed down from one group of young people to the next condemns programs which do not help them and makes program coordinators unable to continue to operate. No questionnaires or interviews, no other populations are needed by these young evaluators. And it costs the program nothing to have them apply their judgements.

Third-party evaluators are often used to evaluate programs--though usually at too low a price to provide a comprehensive review of the program. Participating youths apply their voting pressure without being asked. But peer review teams are not now used in youth employment programs and would be a beneficial addition to the evaluator roster.

While teams which evaluate comprehensive vocational programs or general school programs are large and spend several days on site, these teams might be smaller (three or so professionals) and spend just one day on site because the programs tend to be smaller and more focused. Teams might rate the excellence of the programs on a standardized, easy-to-use checklist of program features (prototype instruments are available from many state vocational education program review systems). Recommendations for improvement in those areas needing the most work could be compiled by the team and sent to the program coordinator and funding source for their settlement. The elaborate reporting and follow-up built into other program review systems need not be used for these programs.

Thus, youth employment programs would have the best of all three worlds--detailed technical expertise, experienced substantive understanding, and realistic personally-motivated judgements.

PUBLIC SECTOR JOB CREATION FOR YOUTH:
SOME OBSERVATIONS ON ITS ROLE AND EFFECTIVENESS

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The Job Creation Emphasis

One of the major developments in recent domestic policy in the United States has been the increased commitment to employment, training, and career development services for youth. Since 1977 the Administration has increased expenditures on youth programs by 60 percent, to over $4 billion. The cornerstone of this increased commitment has been the passage in 1977 of the Youth Employment and Demonstration Projects Act (YEDPA), which authorized four new programs at a cost of $1.5 billion, creating 25,000 employment opportunities for disadvantaged and unemployed youth. In addition to YEDPA, the Administration is committed to doubling the size of the Job Corps Program. It has been estimated that new employment efforts such as these have been directly responsible for about half of the 27 percent increase in black teenage employment since the beginning of 1977. These new initiatives have been complemented by a continued emphasis on youth employment and training in the ongoing DOL programs, such as the Summer Youth Employment Program and the various activities funded under Title II of the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA), as well as numerous other programs administered by the Departments of HEW, Justice, Interior, and Agriculture.

The new and exapnded initiatives are broad in scope, employing a variety of approaches in an effort to alleviate the acute employment problems facing the Nation's young people. Many of the programs offer an extensive set of training services in various fields. Career counseling and vocational exploration programs have been expanded, and in many cases complemented by an increasing range of supportive services to overcome special employability problems. An important feature of the expanded effort is the intensive appeal to the private sector for cooperation and assistance in the provision of jobs and skill development for youth, as evidenced by the emergence of the Targeted Jobs Tax Credit, the Private Sector Initiatives Program, and the formation of Private Industry Councils (PIC's) to assist in the development and operation of youth programs.

While it is thus true that virtually no strategy has been left untapped, the foundation of the expanded youth initiatives has been directed public job creation for the Nation's young people. Of the four new programs authorized under YEDPA, two of them--the Youth Community Conservation and Improvement Project (YCCIP) and the Young Adult Conservation Corps (YACC)--are almost exclusively public sector employment programs. Jobs (part-time and full-time, in both the public and private sectors) make up the primary component of the third program, the Youth Incentive Entitlement Project (YIEPP); while the fourth program--Youth Employment and Training Program--is, as the name implies, a mixture of work experience and skill development.

The emphasis on public job creation is evident in many of the older youth programs as well. The Summer Youth Employment Program, which has been in existence in one form or another since the mid-1960's, has always focused primarily on public sector jobs, although private sector involvement has increased of late with the development of the vocational exploration options. Other lonstanding youth programs, such as Job Corps and the assorted programs funded under Title IIB (formerly Title I) of CETA, as well as its predecessors (MDTA and EOA), have also emphasized work experience.

The Need for Public Job Creation

The case for large-scale public job creation programs for youth rests on three general grounds: 1) the magnitude and severity of the youth unemployment problem; 2) the inability of private sector initiatives alone to alleviate the problem; and 3) the usefulness and value of the goods and services produced as a result of these programs.

The youth unemployment problem has been well documented. With nearly 2 million young people currently out of a job, it is simply unrealistic to believe that a frontal assault on the youth unemployment problem can be mounted exclusively through the use of the private sector. Previous experience with private sector programs--notably the NAB-JOBS program--has demonstrated the benefits of private sector subsidies, but it has also revealed that there are limits to this approach. The comments made by officials of several private firms, at a conference held about 4 years ago by the National Commission for Manpower Policy, indicated quite clearly that for legitimate and understandable reasons the private sector seeks to proceed cautiously in its involvement in and direct operation of employment and training programs. Consequently, if the Nation is seriously committed to major direct assistance in alleviating the youth unemployment problem, there is really little alternative to the use of large-scale public job creation efforts as the cornerstone of this commitment.

While still secondary to the longer term employability development goals of public job creation, the provision of goods and services to the community is often highlighted as a benefit in seeking support for such programs. Although the language may differ slightly from one program to another, almost all the recently enacted legislation authorized employment programs--including the new youth initiatives--specifies as a major objective the provision of "needed public services" or "useful work." To the extent that they are thought to be useful and valuable, the provision of these public services--and specifically services that have not been provided in the past, at least at current levels--can also create a strong demand for their continuation, a demand that may be difficult to resist when attempts are made to curtail the programs. This demand may be particularly strong among low-income persons, who appear increasingly to be among the primary recipients of these new and expanded services.

Two findings from our work valuation and worksite assessment activities, as well as the research of others, are germane in this regard.

First, with noteworthy frequency the responses of various individuals knowledgeable about project work--from budget directors to worksite supervisors to program operators--suggest that CETA programs (including those for youth) have had a major influence on the provision of public services in general. Mahy respondents said or implied that the programs have fundamentally changeed how public services are provided, and for whom. Youth in particular are engaged in services that previously went unprovided, primarily because the large-scale increase in youth programs required local program operators to expand into new areas in order to find sufficient numbers of job slots for the new enrollees. In the energy field, for example, weatherization--an increasingly popular youth program activity--was in may places non-existent prior to the youth initiatives; in other areas the expanded youth programs have added substantially to a previously negligible level of activity. Even in cases where program participants have simply maintained previously provided services, respondents still believe the programs represent a net addition to output; without the program, they believe, fiscal crises and/or popular pressure for tax reduction would inevitably had led to a reduction in services.

Second, youth employment programs appear to be reasonably productive. Although most assessments have relied on subjective judgments about whether or not the work performed by program participants was useful or "make work," there have been several recent attempts to examine the issue more rigorously and to subject it to at least some degree of quantification. Essentially these studies have sought to determine the economic value of the worksite output by estimating the price that an alternative supplier would charge to produce the output and, in some cases, also to assess the potential demand for the output.

Our own preliminary work in this area suggests that, in general, youths have been reasonably productive in the work that has been performed on various projects. In a pilot study of five youth programs (YETP, YCCIP, YACC, CETA Title I, and the Summer Program), we found that on average, an alternative supplier would have charged $2.58 an hour for work similar to the work performed by project participants in a directly work-related project. The study also found that project participants were on average about 58 percent as productive as alternative suppliers of the work performed by the participants, and that--while the quality of the output and the performance of the participants was on average slightly below that of alternative suppliers--the differences between the two groups were not great. In a similar study undertaken as part of the Job Corps economic evaluation, we estimated that alternative suppliers would have charged $1,539 to provide the goods and services which were provided by Corpsmembers per year of service. In another "work valuation" study as part of the evaluation of the VICI Demonstration (Corporation for Public/Private Ventures, 1979)--a sophisticated set of community improved projects--the prieliminary finding was that for the majority of jobs on which information was available, the value of the work products directly attributable to youth labor exceeded the wages paid to the youths.

Some work has also been done to assess the demand for the work that is performed by project participants. In our previously mentioned pilot study, we found that in approximately two-thirds of the projects examined, at least some of the work performed by participants would have been done even in the absence of the project. In the cases of work that would have been performed, of course, there is evidence of an active demand for the project work; the issue is, more appropriately, whether or not the resources freed by the project participants were able to perform work elsewhere or whether they were simply rendered idle--in which case there was no net benefit. With respect to work that would not have been performed in the absence of the project, our evidence--in the form of responses by persons knowledgeable about the work performed by the participants--suggested that in a majority of these cases there was reason to believe that the work was considered useful, that there was some need for the services performed, and that the participants were not engaged simply to "make work" activities. It must be stressed that these findings are preliminary and tentative, based as they are on a very limited sample of work projects.

Individual Program Strategies: What Works and What Doesn't?

In contrast to the paucity of studies assessing the overall, long-term impact of programs, much has been written about the process of implementing and operating youth work experience programs. For the most part these studies have examined the various program strategies and approaches that have been utilized in creating the positions, assigning participants to them, and managing and monitoring the progress of the worksites.

Out of these "process" analyses have come numerous findings and recommendations on virtually all aspects of program and worksite management:

1. Type of work activity. One of the most noteworthy findings concerning the evaluation of youth work programs is the remarkable extent to which they have diversified. Whereas previous youth work experience programs were restricted largely to maintenance activities and secretarial or clerical services, participants are now engaged in every kind of activity--from serving as child care assistants in medical clinics, to weatherizing houses, to putting on neighborhood plays or playing in musical groups. Considerable attention was devoted in the various studies to the issues surrounding the type of work activities in which youths were engaged. For the most part this attention can be divided into three general categories, or dimensions, along which work activities have been viewed: (1) type of industrial or public service area, (2) perceived usefulness or visibility of the product, and (3) complexity of the work activity.

Most of the attention devoted to type of work activity came in the form of descriptions of the work activities rather than evidence or recommendations about what types of industrial or public service activities are more or less "successful" in some respect. The types of work activities generally reflect the "breadth" of the program design and, even with the different category definitions used in the various studies, the range and relative importance of specific activities across programs are strikingly similar. In the Entitlement Program (YIEPP), for example, over 50 percent of all the work hours through roughly the first year of the program were in construction and repair (26 percent) or clerical services (27 percent). Approximately one in six of the jobs were in the community and recreation aid category, while the remainder were scattered across various service categories (Ball, et al, 1979). A study of a sample of worksites in two YEDPA programs (YETP and YCCIP) and the Summer Employment Program found that about a third of the worksites in both the YEDPA and summer programs consisted of general maintenance work, such as janitorial and landscaping services as well as repair and weatherization work. About one-fifth of the positions in the two types of programs were devoted to clerical services (MDC 1978a and 1978b)--a lower percentage than in the entitlement program. Conversely, projects devoted to community-service work (recreation or day care aides, etc.) constituted a higher percentage in the YEDPA projects than in either the summer program or YIEPP. Despite these differences, the distribution of worksites across public service and industrial areas look quite similar for the three programs. Consistent with the mandate of the program, the worksites in the VICI demonstration are much more concentrated in the construction and repair fields (Corporation for Public/Private Venture, 1979). Construction also represents a higher proportion (about two-fifths) of projects in the Supported Work Demonstration--which in general shows more diversity in activities, as well as more "private sector" type work--than the other youth work programs (MDRC, 1979a).

The lack of attention devoted to the issue of whether industrial or public service activities are the most "effective" in one sense or another attests to the fact that in most cases we are still too early in the evolution of these programs to reach any firm conclusions. Prime sponsors and program operators, and even more particularly youth career counselors, sometimes emphasize the need to place young people in program worksites that are as similar as possible (if not identical) to their best private sector opportunities after they leave the program. The National Council on Employment Policy (1978) encourages a continued emphasis on private sector skill transferability. Laudable as this objective is, it may be difficult to achieve in the context of the large-scale youth job creation efforts now underway in some areas. Not only are these types of program opportunities far fewer in number than there are youths to be served, but the matching process required to place each participant in a worksite directly related to a private sector type of job would require substantially more staff resources than are available. It is, indeed, quite possible that the concept of large-scale youth job creation cannot accommodate this type of design in all cases. Prime sponsors with whom we have spoken have emphasized the importance of placing a young person in the type of project that he or she prefers whenever possible. Beyond that it is unclear, at this point, at least, which specific types of public service areas or industrial categories are the "most effective" in a work experience context.

2. Perceived usefulness and visibility of work. The usefulness of the work performed, as well as its "visibility" in the perception of the participant himself or herself, is a major factor in work programs. MDC (1978) noted that "a sense of learning something or at least accomplishing something useful, a visible product" was one of the "key ingreients of most good (summer employment programs)." The importance of a visible product or visible work has been mentioned to us by program operators repeatedly in our value of output analyses both of Supported Work and of the various youth employment programs. "Visibility" and "usefulness" are vague terms, of course, making it difficult to capture the essence of what is meant by them; and distinguishing between work that is "visible and useful" and work that is not is even more difficult in practice than in the abstract. Nevertheless, while there is little in the literature to directly support or reject the importance of this concept, many program operators believe that it can have an effect on not only the productivity of the workers but also their retention in the program.

3. Complexity of the work activity. A topic that has been given surprisingly little attention in the literature is the complexity of the work activity in which participants are engaged. There is almost no direct mention, and only occasional indirect references, to differences in work complexity, yet even casual observation of the verious youth work experience programs reveals striking differences in this regard from one worksite to another, even within the same program. The issue of work complexity can be further divided into two categories: First, the complexity of the project or worksite, and second, the complexity of the work

that is actually assigned to the participant. With respect to project complexity, we have found in our work that projects involving substantial nonlabor inputs as well as participant labor are frequently less productive than those involving participant labor only (Zimmerman and Masters, 1979). This is hardly surprising. The more "complex" the project activity, the more "inputs" have to be planned, managed, and controlled in order to perform the work on the project. The anecdotal evidence uncovered in the course of worksite evaluations provides strong support for the belief that operating complicated projects, which involve the use of substantial amounts of materials and supplies as well as participant labor, can easily lead to disorganization unless the project is well coordinated and managed under the watchful ey of the program operators. And disorganization, as MDC (1979a) points out in its study of the summer program, can lead to "disgruntlement" and "lax" behavior on the part of the participants.

The second element of complexity, relating to the work specifically assigned to the participants, essentially involves the extent to which there is a good match between the skill level of the participant and the task to be performed. Problems arise when particiipants are assigned highly technical or complicated work with very little preliminary training and loose supervision. Obviously there are severe constraints on any matching process, since many of the youths come to the programs with few skills that would qualify them for the more complicated project activities. That frustration would occur when a participant does not have the requisite skills necessary to do a job is obvious. The need, therefore, is to monitor the worksites and projects carefully to determine whether some of the tasks are too complicated for the participant at a given stage in their development, and to restructure such tasks so that they are more in line with the level of skill development already reached. This requires closer management of more complex projects, which involves the need for more staff resources; but without the commitment to closer management it is hardly worthwhile to undertake the more complicated types of project.

4. Supervisor issues. There is a consensus among researchers and program operators that supervision is an extremely important element in the worksite experience of participants. More attention has been devoted in the various studies to this subject than any single topic. The studies converge on two general dimensions of worksite supervision

as particularly important factors in the quality of the worksite experience: First, the number of supervisors; and second, the characteristics of the supervisor.

The appropriate number of supervisors at the worksite is now usually expressed in terms of the supervisor ratio, or the number of supervisors per worksite participant. Arguments are heard with increasing frequency in favor of raising the number of supervisors per enrollee. The Corporation for Public/Private Ventures (1979), for example, suggests that their experience in the VICI Demonstration with ratios of one supervisor to six trainees "has effected much quality training per supervisor."

It is uncertain, however, whether the supervisor ratio is always the most appropriate indicator of the extent of supervision at a worksite. MDC (1978b) notes that in some cases the supervisory ratio

> proved an unreliable criterion for good youth programming. We saw programs that...operated with 1:1 ratio where the supervisor spent as little as an hour or two a week with youths on the job. On the other hand, we saw crews working with a 1:10 ratio where the supervisor was with the group all day, everyday , was able to supply individual attention wherever it was needed, and consequently spent the equivalent of an hour or more a day with each youth.

MDC suggests as an alternative measure of supervision the use of hours per week of contact time between the supervisors and youth.

Our worksite observation activities also suggest that the use of supervisory ratio is not always a good indicator of the extent of supervision on a project. Specifically, in cases where the supervisor's time is devoted exclusively to the project participants, the supervisory ratio is probably a good measure, but it is less appropriate where the supervisor's time is divided between supervision of project participants and various other activities in which he or she might be engaged.

One further point should be made in discussing the appropriate measure of extent of supervision. It is important to distinguish between supervisory-participant contact in which the supervisor is providing training or monitoring of participant progress, on the one hand, and contact in which the supervisor is largely responsible for actually doing the work with little input from the participant, on the other. The latter type of contact provides little in the way of work experience for the participant; yet at several worksites we observed that this was the common practice.

Not surprisingly, virtually all the studies found that the most effective supervisors were those who possessed two basic attributes: First, they were competent workers in their own right, with a comprehensive yet detailed understanding of the work to be done; and second, they were sensitive to the needs of and able to communicate effectively with the youth participants at the worksite. Also not surprising, however, was the finding that this combination of traits is difficult to find. Beyond this, there appears to be a consensus among the studies that competence--that is, a good understanding of the work that had to be done, and the ability to organize the activities in a manner that would best accomplish it--was the most critical factor in the provision of good worksite supervision. A number of the studies allude to the importance that participants and program operators alike place on this aspect of supervision, and it is a point that should be stressed in future programs. Young people can recognize incompetence above them as well as adults can. Programs can (and should) provide extensive training to incoming supervisors in order to make them better understand the needs of the participants, as well as to enhance their communication skills. But supervisors must, in the first place, bring to the project a good basic understanding of the work and the techniques for accomplishing it.

5. Managing, Monitoring, and Control. The ability to manage worksites effectively is unequivocally the most important single factor in the provision of meaningful work experience for youth. Not only is it emphasized directly in virtually all the studies examined, but the consequences of its absence are all too apparent in the reports by various program observers. Effective management is critical in virtually every phase of the job creation process--from initial planning efforts to develop an adequate stock of positions, to effective control over the operation of individual worksites, to the eventually winding down of work projects (especially in temporary programs such as the Summer Youth Employment Program). Its consequences are felt at every level, from prime sponsor relations with other organizations down to individual worksite control.

Several of the studies note the problems faced by prime sponsors in the initial planning phase of the job creation process, and in the initial assignment of individuals to worksites. Particularly noteworthy in this regard are the experiences of large-scale, virtual "saturation" programs. Concerning YIEPP, for example, it was noted that:

> Those sites that could fall back on established units, or that had experience with centralized intake, assignment, and job development processes, fared somewhat better. ...Job assignment also worked somewhat more smoothly in (sites) which ... took longer to prepare for program operation, and had slower enrollment growth in the early months. (Ball, et al, 1979)

The Summer Youth Employment Program provides another excellent example, given its massive scale and temporary nature, of the importance of planning. The Office of Youth Programs reports that substantial progress has been made in the planning efforts in this year's program, although improvements are still needed in many areas. We saw substantial variation from one prime sponsor to another in this regard in our current study of 1979 SYEP work sites. In some cases the prime sponsor's ability to develop large numbers of summer positions and slot the participants into those positions in a timely fashion was impressive; but in other sites the absence of such planning efforts was obvious. The lack of effective communication between prime sponsors and worksite recipient agencies is exemplified well by the case in which we found that the recipient agency expected 16 participants and instead found some 80 enrollees on their doorstep on the first day of the program.

The Office of Youth Programs, in several reports on its summer program, has pointed up the general need for more extensive and longer planning efforts. MDC (1978a) and the National Council on Employment Policy (1979) have also identified the need for a longer planning period as a key element in future summer programs. In fact, they both recommend a year-round planning process which would necessarily involve the integration of the summer program with other in-school work experience activities.

In discussing worksite management and control, it is useful to distinguish between projects that are run directly by the program operator or prime sponsor and those that are actually run by "client" or "recipient" agencies. In the first category, the prime sponsor is directly responsible for detailed project management. This need is especially acute in projects--such as many in the construction, building renovation, and weatherization field--that involve both participant and nonlabor inputs. Making sure that materials and supplies, such as paint, paint brushes, lumber, etc., are at the worksite when the participants need them is a complicated and time-consuming task. Yet it is essential in virtually all of the types of activities that characterize the YCCIP and other community-improvement type programs. These types of projects simply cannot survive without a substantial amount of direct program management, including the involvement of "project operations" staff in addition to worksite supervisors. Many of the "less productive" worksites that we have observed have been plagued specifically by the inability of program managers to adequately schedule project activities to meet materials and supplies deliveries. The need for more detailed management will necessarily make these projects more expensive to operate, but once the decision is made to undertake them there is simply no effective alternative but to make the additional administrative investment.

Projects that are operated under the direct supervision of "client" agencies require a very different kind of control mechanism. Here the emphasis must be placed on standardized, detailed monitoring activities to ensure that the requirements and objectives of the worksite experience are being met. Yet this is often not the case. The YIEPP report (Ball, et al, 1979) states the problem well: "Program monitoring is generally regarded as standard operating procedures for manpower programs, but monitoring at the level of worksites (as compared perhaps to monitoring major service deliverers) has not been emphasized by prime sponsors."

If standardized worksite discipline, attendance, and other personnel standards are to be developed for use across all projects and sites in a program, then these standards must be clearly communicated to worksite sponsors (i.e., "client" agencies) prior to the start of worksite operations. If, in contrast, more discretion concerning the worksite practices is to be given to client agencies, then these practices must at least be reviewed to see whether they conform in general to the principles and guidelines developed by the prime sponsor for the program as a whole.

These specific worksite rules or general guidelines must then be supported by the frequent and rigorous monitoring of the worksites themselves. MDRC (Ball, et al, 1979) correctly points out that "counseling" or "job coach" staff members do not necessarily reflect monitoring capacity, since they may have a variety of other duties--some of which may be in conflict with monitoring responsibilities--to perform. Yet they also point out that in many cases the monitoring function was not staffed adequately. This problem was also recognized by MDC (1978a and b) in both the YEDPA and summer programs.

The National Council on Employment Policy (1979) has documented several cases of increased monitoring on the part of prime sponsors. It also cautioned, however, that"further progress here is going to be hard," particularly because of the resources needed to accomplish it and the lack of incentives for undertaking it. Nevertheless, in an earlier NCEP study (1978), several Field Associates noted the increased emphasis on jobs and worksite "quality," and the importance of monitoring in achieving it.

The general point emerging from virtually all the studies examined is this: effective worksite management and monitoring is the key to productive and meaningful work experience for youth. The evidence suggests that substantial strides have been made in improving what was a rather dismal situation with regard to worksite management. The evidence also suggests that there is considerable room for further improvement in this regard. We can start by recognizing that the tasks involved in managing program operated worksites differ from those of monitoring the worksites under the direct supervision of other agencies. Before real progress can be made, however, we must also recognize that adequate worksite management and monitoring takes adequate program staffing, and that adequate staffing takes money. In some cases the money is already available, since prime sponsors often utilize only a fraction of their program administration allocation. In other cases it is not available--but it should be, even if it means increasing the administrative portion of the work experience grants.

Conclusions

The problem with bold new initiatives is that the bolder the initiative the quicker people want answers about whether it works, yet the longer it usually takes to get them. The youth job creation initiatives are no exception to this rule. We have had, at best, only 18 months of experience under the programs that make up these initiatives. We do not know the anwers, therefore, to some very important questions about them. Fundamentally, we do not yet know whether they really do make a difference in terms of achieving the ultimate objectives on which they were based and, therefore, on which they must be evaluated.

But we do have at least preliminary answers to some of the important questions that have been asked about them. For example, people have asked whether or not the programs can provide needed public services, including ones in areas recently recognized as essential. The answer is a tentative yes, based on evidence that the programs have been remarkably innovative in their ability to expand beyond traditional services into other areas such as weatherization and energy related fields and social services that were previously lacking. The evidence also suggests that the participants can provide these services reasonably productively.

People have asked whether the programs can be expanded to the levels anticipated in the recent legislation without the negative effects of "saturation" rendering them unworkable. Again, the answer is a tentative yes--no one would deny that bottlenecks have developed, yet the overall experience leaves room for optimism on this issue. Whether they can continue to expand beyond the current levels is uncertain. Perhaps it will depend on the extent to which other initiatives such as countercyclical or welfare reform based job creation, compete with the youth efforts. Certainly it will depend on the extent to which prime sponsors and program operators, in the search for additional worthwhile activities, can continue to look beyond the traditional public service areas and agencies and engaged the services of nonprofit and community-based organizations.

Finally, we also have some tentative answers about what works and what doesn't. Some of them are obvious, of course. Better supervision really does lead to more worthwhile work experience. But we also have found that better supervision means specific things, like competence in the work to be done and the ability to organize the project to accomplish that work; and some prime sponsors and program operators are putting this to work by focusing more seriously on the criteria used to select worksite supervisors. Most important, I believe, we have compelling evidence that job creation efforts in the past have been plagued by inadequate worksite management and monitoring, and that the progress we have made to date in alleviating the situation will have to be continued in the future if the concept of large-scale public job creation for youth is to be a workable one. Youth job creation is now big business in the United States. In many places it provides more jobs that the vast majority of private employers. It should be managed accordingly.

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PUBLIC JOB CREATION--A MEANS TO AN END

by

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What Role Public Jobs?

Because of the job shortage for youth, public sector job creation will remain as a cornerstone of youth employment policy. There are two distinct approaches available, with a range of compromises in between. These polar approaches to job creation might be labelled the "achievement model;" the other, the "development model."

The achievement model is designed to maximize community benefit with the expectation that the enrollees will participate in a work experience and acquire a sense of accomplishment. The work tasks are concentrated in areas of need and are reasonably visible. An impact can be measured and easily defined. Examples include energy weatherization installation, exterior painting for the homes of the elderly, and park renovation. In some respects, visibility will depend on scale: if every school in a given community is weatherized and every house in a given neighborhood painted, the impact will be more readily perceived.

The development model is designed to include many different kinds of activity. It encourages flexibility so that different opportunities are available for the enrollees. As a result, there may not be concentration of effort and the community benefits may be less tangible or, at least, less visible. The major determinants of program design are the needs of the individual enrollees and their acquisition of transferable skills.

It is possible to follow either approach effectively and to assure benefits for the youth included. As with many things, there are impact and policy tradeoffs. The underlying assumptions and resulting short-term benefits of each model are somewhat different. As a result, the program design will vary.

Achievement Model

1. Community Needs. Selecting areas of community need and designing the program to service that need are probably easiest in this model. All communities, whether urban, suburban, or rural, have public-facility deficiencies that a community corps of young people can improve. The issue is to define the project carefully so that it is achievable. That definition is made best locally. It requires the broadest range of permissible activities.

2. Enrollee Tasks. The next step is to define the component parts (the individual tasks to be performed by the enrollees). Here, transferability of the skill must be a consideration. There should also be emphasis on an upward skill-achievement progression in each project. Assuming that there will be more needs for projects than resources to undertake them, project selection should also consider the task mix available to the enrollees. A park-renovation project might be preferable to a painting project even though it included that often chastized act of "leaf raking," because it might also include building picnic benches and playscapes, landscape design and planting, and painting--different kinds of tasks at increasingly difficult levels of required expertise.

3. Supportive Services/Education Linkage. There must be time set aside from the basic work activity to allow for counseling, access to educational opportunities (some of which might even be offered in concert with the work activity), and general supportive services (i.e., health screening). If we are learning nothing else in running youth employment programs under YEDPA, we are now more aware of the serious gaps in education for many of the neediest young people. The ideal program integrates the educational experience and the community-improvement effort--for example, a high school course on energy conservation coupled with a housing-weatherization project. Such an effort requires creativity, commitment, and money.

4. Wage Structures. There has been much debate throughout the life of public-service job programming on whether comparable wages should be paid. The determinant of a wage level should be the work performed, not the economic condition of the individual performing it. That does not rule out the payment of a stipend at a reduced level for participation in non-work activities like classroom training.

Some years ago we strengthened the Syracuse summer program by building into it a graduated wage scale dependent on the work assignment. Therefore, when twenty eighteen-year-olds were hired to work in the Department of Public Works, they received wages quite close to those of the regular workforce. This provision improved the youths' motivation, made it easier to demand and get "adult" work performance, and facilitated incorporation of the summer crews into the regular workforce. The SPEDY program has since become one of the major points of entry to unsubsidized employment in the department.

5. Supervisory and Training Requirements. This is an area of great concern in this model. There is a tendency to place too many enrollees per site with inadequate supervision and to deemphasize training in favor of producing the desired output, especially if the training is not seen as necessary to achieving that output. The most desirable supervisory/enrollee ratios are often viewed as too costly or not realistic due to manpower shortages.

The solution is a dollar set-aside for training and a program design that permits training to occur during the normal work day. Further, there need to be grant-in-aid dollars for actual on-site supervisors (not just paycheck monitors) where a single project has more than 25 enrollees. Out of desperation, Syracuse has developed a Title VI project for the sole purpose of hiring adults to work with placement agencies in enrollee-supervision capacities, thus gaining an incentive when negotiating volunteer site agreements with the agencies assuming responsibility for larger numbers of enrollees.

The availability of trained craftsmen as supervisors may prove to be very seasonal. The programs need good supervision and training, and the unions are anxious to see their members involved. But such personnel simply may not be available in large enough numbers when needed.

6. Administrative Costs. We tend to have a preoccupation with administrative costs without regard to programmatic problems resulting from inadequate staffing or cost-cutting in the wrong places. Large-scale public-job creation efforts will not succeed without adequate supplies and equipment, reasonable levels of supervision, and all of the management support that is needed. Additionally, large-scale community-improvement projects (e.g., home renovation, energy weatherization) require an investment in materials that in many cases may equal the wage costs. It is not sufficient that Secretaries of Labor and HUD sign a memo of agreement designating supplies for youth-employment programs as eligible for CDBG funding. Most communities are receiving little more such funding than in years past and do not greet such letters with overwhelming enthusiasm. A large-scale community-improvement public-jobs program will require up to 40 percent in funds for supervision, training, and supplies and equipment.

7. Cost Implications. The optimal operation of the achievement model requires real wage budgeting, adequate training and supportive services, payment for at least some of the subagent supervision, and sufficient materials and equipment. Guidelines similar to many of those imposed in the recent Title II and VI regulations--which require low average wage levels, mandate training set-asides and then severely restrict the kinds of training that are eligible, and impose a reduced percentage for administrative and supportive services costs--are not terribly helpful.

8. Transition Potential. Transition rarely receives adequate attention under this model. Public-sector jobs creation can provide quality work experience (in much the way a good year-round SPEDY program would) and feature the added value of a sense of visible accomplishment; however, steps need to be built into the system before actual transition to unsubsidized employment can occur to any great extent. It is imperative that this effort not be isolated from the other youth-employment and CETA systems in a community.

9. Employment Restrictions. To the degree that the work involved is deemed to be valuable, the greater the likelihood of union and/or civil-service roadblocks. There have been selective negotiated agreements in some communities. Syracuse has not been the beneficiary of such agreements. While there has been a willingness to permit temporary placement of enrollees, assistance in long-term placement and transition are rarely offered. For example, existing union agreements prevented us from painting fire hydrants; and, like most communities, our civilians in the police and fire departments can never successfully pass through a civil-service process to become uniformed personnel. It is a difficult issue and one that may need to be addressed at both the federal and local levels simultaneously.

10. Potential Displacement of Adults. Obviously more of an issue when the unemployment rate is unusually high, adult displacement concerns also increase with the value of the work involved. Wage rates come into play here as well. A continuing commitment to Title II and VI funding at the same time any major new initiatives are suggested in public-sector job creation for youth will obviate some concern here.

The achievement model can be effective. To the extent that its supportive costs are adequately financed, its enrollees benefit from other parts of the manpower training system, and its projects are well-defined and well-managed, this model will be even more effective.

Development Model

1. Community Needs. The definition of community needs is less important to this model; in fact, it is only a secondary consideration. One does not need or even desire large-scale renovation projects. The goal is to develop a large number of different kinds of work sites, each well-defined and useful. But the magnitude of the products need not be so great. The main objective is to have an adequate number of different opportunities to match the different needs of the enrollees.

2. Slot-Development Potential. Given the desire to develop slots in areas parallel to normal hiring patterns and the assumption that transition to nonsubsidized employment is a major goal, effective slot development is critical in this model. It must both meet the market potential and the needs and capacity of individual enrollees. Each slot may be quite different; and it is more difficult to negotiate, for example, 20 slots at 20 different sites than 20 slots in one site. The development of a variety of quality slots leading to unsubsidized employment is no simple task. Having a package of incentives (e.g., payment for supervisory staff), coupled with the leverage of other resources (e.g., condition the receipt of other grant funds like community development of basic CETA), certainly makes the task easier.

Since this model creates positions very similar to those in the basic work force, it must negotiate many union and civil-service concerns. Among the approaches that Syracuse has sought unsuccessfully is the acceptance of time in training as contributory to placement in a civil-service position off a limited "promotional" list. The union relationships have been easier as long as their procedures have been followed.

3. Enrollee Tasks. The key feature in this model is flexibility. An enrollee might be a teacher's aide, a typist, or a keypunch operator. He or she may work a 40-hour week or a 20-hour week. There might be a training program on the job or a separate classroom option. The tasks should be as close to the real-world job as possible to maximize transferability. Instead of a few selected large-scale community-improvement projects, there might be 75 positions with no two alike. Unfortunately, this kind of dispersal tends to reduce visibility and perceived value.

4. Supportive Services/Education Linkage. These components are, of course, essential whatever the model. The program flexibility envisioned here should be fully utilized in designing supportive services. The Syracuse Entitlement Program has been experiencing an unexpected high drop-out rate. Program operators have identified at least two causes (of course, there are many causes beyond programmatic control) that they intend to address: the lack of an on-going school-to-work preparation and supportive counseling capability, and an inadequate education component within the Syracuse City School District. Their solution to these deficits will, it is hoped, make a difference.

5. Wage Structure. Again, payment should be made in relation to work performed, with the understanding that stipends are appropriate for time spent in training or another supported nonwork activity.

6. Supervisory and Training Requirements. Of primary consideration in this model is the development for each enrollee of an "employability plan" encompassing the range of service options that will enable the individual to develop the skills to eventually "leave" the system. It may take six months; it may take five years: I am opposed to artificial restrictions on enrollment periods. It may include a lengthy period of basic education--maybe none. But it is imperative that the work experience be well supervised and serve as a training experience, whether traditional or nontraditional.

In addition to paying the wage of the enrollee, I would recommend an incentive payment of 20 percent to those placement sites that provide quality on-the-job training and maintain a supervisor/enrollee ratio of not more than 1 to 4.

One of the better Syracuse programs is a cooperative effort with the Air National Guard and BOCES, through which 20 to 40 youth have a half-day of basic education and a half-day of work experience in a setting of not more than 1 adult to 3 enrollees. The full-time members of the Air National Guard act as trainers and supervisors. The Guard can maintain this high ratio because their large staff, dictated by the large number of weekend reserves, is free during the week--when there are no reservists--to work with the young people. Occupation areas include welding, auto mechanics, airplane maintenance, clerical, bookkeeping, keypunch, etc. It is an excellent program because it features discipline coupled with high levels of individual training attention in practical, transferable skill areas. I wish it could be repeated twenty-fold.

7. Administrative and Overhead Costs. There is less of a problem in this model, since most such costs relate to services for clients that have traditionally been found acceptable, but overhead costs may still be difficult to subsidize adequately in the current fiscal climate.

There must be adequate budgets for wages, training and supportive cost allowances, payment for some supervision costs, and adequate materials and equipment. One might spend less on renovation hardware but more on special-education approaches. One cannot expect quality programming for young people in need of a range of services without expending adequate dollars per slot.

8. Transition Potential. To the degree the training and work experience correlate with areas of normal hiring and placement, the transition potential should be greatest in the development model. In fact, one would hope that placement potential would be one key determinant of what areas received concentrated training. I believe that this model is more conducive to transition because of its greater flexibility, its selection of concentration areas based on placement potential rather than community-improvement objectives, and its training orientation.

9. Potential Displacement of Adults. Because of the greater likelihood that youths will be working side by side with adults in positions perceived as leading to adult jobs, adult displacement is a greater issue in the developmental

model. Some artificial separation is probably necessary to reduce the outcry against the son's taking the father's job. In fact, however, I think the key issue is the availability of adequate resources for adults so as to reduce competition for the same slot.

The developmental model can also be effective. To the extent that it provides a broad range of services, maximizes flexibility, provides opportunities that will develop saleable skills, includes a solid education component, and is well managed, this model will be even more effective.

Conclusions and Recommendations

- Follow either approach or a combination, but be clear on the objectives. Don't attempt equal attention to community outputs and enrollee development, as program design considerations must be somewhat different.
- Build on the local management system now in place, strengthening it where necessary. Youth employment programming is only one part of a continuum, and enrollees deserve a system that does not artificially exclude them or cut them off from service.
- Regardless of what public jobs methodology is used, build in a strong education component with adequate dollars.
- Adequately finance each slot, not only the wages but also the full range of administrative and supportive costs.
- School-to-work transition is difficult. Provide the necessary supportive-services package and continue it through the full period of an enrollee's participation and some months beyond. Follow-up after placement is as important as preparation for placement.
- Design public jobs with as much skill transferability as possible given other constraints and objectives.
- Review all proposed guidelines to determine if they impose artificial restrictions on the capability of the system to serve its enrollees. If so, eliminate them.

Remember, public-service jobs creation for young people is a means to an end--not the end in itself!

YOUTH ACCESS TO PRIVATE-SECTOR JOBS

by

Frederick A. Taylor

Metropolitan Cleveland Jobs Council

The Local Formula

The Metropolitan Cleveland Jobs Council has been involved in manpower program development and operation for ten years. Our history parallels the development of most of the manpower legislation; we've seen the shifting of the wind and have learned to shift with it. It is our observation that the gap between national manpower policy perspectives and local service-delivery capabilities is a primary cause of the lack of progress in meeting the needs of unemployed youth. The mission of our organization as a private, non-profit corporation (affiliated with both the National Alliance of Business and the Greater Cleveland Growth Association) is to provide the local manpower system a service that bridges the gap between policy and program and between government and local business.

Long ago we recognized that one of the common failings was the inability of many local programs to develop and to sustain a positive relationship with the business community that produced enough jobs to justify their operation. Because of its close ties with the business community, the Jobs Council has identified a segment of the total manpower service system that relates closely to our objectives and capabilities. We do not work directly with a large client group. There are enough organizations whose primary function is to provide outreach and direct client services. Rather, our role is to canvass the industrial community, knocking on doors in an attempt to find employers who are willing to get involved by making available not just their jobs, but their technical and financial resources to assist in our efforts.

All too often, human-service organizations attempt to tackle the entire spectrum of services that are necessary to bring a person from the status of the unemployed to that of a productive worker. It has been our experience that the most effective programs are those that provide a more limited selection of services. By concentrating their efforts on a narrower target, they can become specialists in delivering that particular service on a higher quality and quantity level.

We've also recognized that, in addition to considering the numbers of placements in rating performance, consideration must be given to all the intangible results that are difficult to measure accurately. We know that such factors do impact on the business community's future decisionmaking regarding utilization of manpower resources to meet their needs. We've learned that it is unrealistic to expect that our business contact program efforts will produce a heavy yield of immediate results. What we are looking for is the development of an awareness in the business community concerning the problem, as well as the purpose of our organization and its potential for utilization, however, and whenever the opportunity arises.

Success in establishing the kind of relationship with the business community that assures positive results in the placement of youth is based, first and foremost, on the strength of the organization delivering the service. The strength of a manpower organization is determined by essentially the same factors that apply to any organization. Because manpower services are a relatively new discipline, there is not an abundance of experienced talent that can be tapped into local organizations. It becomes a constant challenge, therefore, to seek out and find individuals with ability who can, through effective training, be developed into effective staffing. Utilization of talent and matching it with appropriate functions are equally important. There must be a constant effort to evaluate the ability of the organization to perform all the functions necessary to achieve its goals. At the Jobs Council, we have often stopped in our tracks to re-evaluate our approach and have reorganized staffing patterns to assure that we were doing the most with what we had.

Program development and design capability is another area that requires considerable attention in any organization that hopes to be successful in the delivery of manpower services. It is not enough to simply know what the problem is and to be committed to pitch in and help. The problem of unemployed youth is sufficiently complex to require considerable talent and effort in putting together programs that work. The standard, simplistic approach that assumes that hard work and enthusiasm will get the job done often leads to the premature demise of many manpower organizations, leaving many wounded by the wayside.

There is also the need to engage in constant, extensive follow-up to assure that services promised are being delivered and, where they are not, that steps are being taken to correct the problem. Without adequate follow-up, it is impossible to establish the community credibility that is necessary to receive needed support.

There are also many external factors that play a major role in determining the strength of an organization. The key to the Jobs Council's strength is our relationship with private-sector organizations in both the business and labor communities. This relationship extends beyond routine efforts to provide information and sell services; it includes active participation in the design and implementation of specific projects. It is not realistic to assume that any program can be successful in achieving access to private-sector employment without seeking such participation from those who will ultimately utilize the skills of the manpower resources being developed. For years we have been hearing complaints from industry about the poor quality of training and related services coming out of the public manpower system. We believe that one of the ways of addressing that issue is to say to the business community "We want you to get involved, we want you to help us put together and operate these programs the way you think they should be operated." From our perspective this is a "put up or shut up" situation acknowledging that it is harder to criticize an effort in which you've played an active part. Not only does this strategy assure that the approach being used to prepare people for employment meets the needs of industry, but it also gives people from the business world a much closer look at the problems faced by human-service organizations. It is this sort of mutual commitment from the public and private sectors, resulting in a real partnership approach, that appears to produce the best results. We see the new Private Sector Initiative Program encouraging this approach on a broader scale than has been the case in the past. By producing an effective public/private partnership, it becomes possible to recognize all points of view in policymaking and program development and operation.

In the case of the Jobs Council, it is equally important to establish close working relationships with other organizations involved in the delivery of manpower services, particularly those that work directly with youth. It is the quality of that relationship that is the key to successful utilization of opportunities developed through our employer contact effort. In our experiences, filling available training and job opportunities depends on the ability of other organizations to perform that function. It is imperative, therefore, that we maintain day-to-day contact, reviewing the activities and planning for the future. There are over 90 organizations in the Cleveland area that provide some kind of employment, training, education, or related service to unemployed persons. The level of capability runs the gamut from excellent to terrible. It is essential that we become familiar enough with each of these organizations to identify those that are most consistent in providing effective services. At the present time, we are working closely with about 15 of those 90 organizations on a regular basis.

Among the tricky problems we face is the agencies' heavy lobbying in their jockeying for position. Unfounded claims of excellence based on affiliations with national organizations or use of local political connections make it difficult to say "no" in many cases. Nevertheless, it must be the local performance record that determines any organization's participation in the manpower system.

Last, but far from the least, in external factors is funding. It is not particularly important to discuss the extent of the funding, because that relates to the size and the range of the program. It is, rather, the timely flow of funds, the duration of the funding period, and the ability to apply those funds when and where they are needed that are critical to the success of any organization. Over the past 18 months, we have experienced a funding situation that essentially extends program authority on a quarterly-quarterly, or month-by-month basis. No program no matter how well designed, no matter how well supported, can succeed without more stable financial conditions. We believe that something must be done to assure that budget commitments are made early, that cash flow begins immediately, and that minor modifications are arranged easily.

With the multiplicity of factors influencing the direction and success of an organization, it isn't terribly surprising to discover that what works in one instance won't work in another. There are enough variables in the process to practically guarantee that no two organizations or systems will be alike in their approach, structure, or results. That does not mean that there shouldn't be extensive sharing of program information and ideas; good ideas are easily adaptable to fit local situations and capabilities. What it does mean is that nationally established policies and regulations must be flexible enough to permit the natural development of local resources.

The Employer Perspective

It is readily apparent that, in the business of attempting to find private-sector jobs for youth, the attitudes and perspectives of employers themselves have a great deal to do with success or failure. Individuals involved in the attempt to assist youth in gaining access to private-sector jobs must recognize the factors that influence decisionmaking in the hiring process.

If one accepts the effort to gain employer confidence and support as essentially a sales effort, it becomes much easier to approach the problem productively. In the recent past, most of the Jobs Council's success has been the result of what we call the "bottom-up" approach to selling our services. This means a one-on-one contact between a staff employer-contact specialist (called account executives) and personnel, employment, and training representatives in business and industry. Though this approach has proved to be successful in terms of making multiple cold and scheduled contacts in the field, it does rely, to a certain extent, on our ability to find persons at that level in business who are risktakers or decisionmakers. Though there are many exceptions, personnel executives often tend to be cautious, slow-moving, and limited in authority.

It is necessary, therefore, to establish a means of impacting from the "top down"--particularly if one hopes to tap into the resources of major corporations. Opening doors and getting to top-level executives, while not always easy, can be accomplished by establishing appropriate relationships with organizations and individuals that do have the capacity to communicate directly with business leaders. Even this approach is not without its faults. By the time word filters down through a complex corporate organizational structure, it is entirely possible that the individuals required to carry out company policy will find themselves in conflict with prior experience and, as a result, become somewhat conservative in carrying out the intended objectives.

There is a historical and perhaps natural tendency to view employer participation as a social responsibility. We believe, however, that we're dealing with a basically economic question. Our experience clearly indicates that the employer's number one concern is that his or her jobs be filled with people who can ultimately produce goods or services that will assist the company in making a profit. Although other factors, such as corporate image in the community and social responsibilities, should be included in any presentation made to an employer, the primary deciding factor will be based on the need for workers and the potential to find qualified workers from the target group. If there is no assurance that the services being offered will provide individuals who can perform after proper training, the chances of gaining active employer participation in hiring unemployed youth is minimal.

In addition to corporate policy, there are a whole series of variables that affect the decisionmaking process of the employment interviewer. If there is a surplus of qualified applicants, it is going to be particularly difficult to sell an employer on the idea of hiring marginally qualified individuals. If there is no urgency and the employer has time to look around, he may delay making a final decision while trying to find something better. If the employment interviewer must rely on additional screening by a department head or some other individual in the company, the odds of being hired are affected. The results of personal interviews, application review, and test results are all conditional factors that affect employer decisionmaking. When the hiring is drawn out over a long period of time, follow-up on the part of the persons who have applied often influences the employers. Though most decisions are made on an individual basis, there are some instances in which hiring is considerably less personal. Sometimes, and usually in large corporations, the number of persons applying for jobs precludes in-depth interviewing, and hiring may be based primarily on fairly simple criteria. This is particularly true in industries that are traditionally high-paying with relatively low-skill, entry-level jobs. There are also some opportunities that are considered glamorous by job-seekers that often attract such large number of applicants as to hamper attempts to develop special consideration for additional individuals.

Selling the Client

There are two basic approaches to placing individuals in private-sector jobs. One is the individual job-development approach, which in our experience is usually not worth the high cost unless the individual is particularly well-qualified. The time spent in attempting to find a job for a specific person will prove far too costly in both time and money for most organizations. We believe that more jobs can be identified and more people placed if the approach to job development concentrates on selling your organization and the services you provide. Although the real product is the unemployed youth, the only thing that can be "guaranteed" is the quality of service; that is what must be sold to the employer. Promises of long-range solid performance by any new worker are folly and often return to haunt the referral agency. In initiating a relationship with an employer, establishing credibility is the first order; it is, therefore, absolutely critical that care be taken to provide special service that assures the best possible results. Follow-up after referral is a key factor in letting the employer know that you care about the quality and timeliness of your service and your willingness to listen to criticism, if warranted.

It is important to recognize that there is a variable involved in this entire process that is virtually impossible to control --the interview performance of the youth referred to the job. No matter how well everything else in the process is put together, unless the individual being considered is able to engage in a little self-selling, there is little likelihood of placement.

Pre-employment preparation in how to look for, find, and hold a job appears to be one of the most neglected areas of youth education and training. The length of time and the cost involved in providing the kind of preparation to face employers on a one-on-one basis is minimal. Without it, young people stand little chance of competing effectively for jobs with more experienced persons. Though we all recognize that inner-city youth, and particularly black youth, face a greater degree of difficulty in gaining access to private-sector jobs, it is equally true that the secret to individual success is no different from the youth in the suburbs. Pre-referral activity often plays a greater role in determining the results of employment interviews than does prior occupational skill preparation. At least 50 percent of the persons who fail to succeed in our programs fail for reasons that are not related to their ability to learn or do the job. Getting and holding a job has as much to do with the level as it does with the performance of job tasks. The proper assessment of an individual's aptitudes and interests can do more to facilitate an effective, timely match between the client and the job than any other function. We believe that such assessment should include some form of aptitude measurement, even though the "screening-out, screening-in" controversy still rages. Standardized, job-related testing, coupled with other techniques, can assist everyone, including the client, in preventing costly mismatches that are destined to fail. The impact of failure on the individual is far too great to preclude the use of any tool that may point out the right direction.

Another tool that has been experimented with, with varying degrees of success around the country, though we haven't tried it in the Cleveland area, is the use of vouchering. Though it may serve as a useful supplementary tool in some cases and is probably worth having as part of the system, vouchering has limitations. Those who would be most successful in using vouchers to sell themselves to employers may already possess the necessary self-confidence and knowledge of job-seeking to successfully find a job without the voucher. Youth who lack the self-confidence and who have had no pre-employment job-hunting preparation probably wouldn't be any more successful with the voucher. In fact, the need to explain the voucher system may cause further complications for some job-seekers. Many employers will raise questions about a voucher that may be difficult for even a professional person to answer quickly and effectively. We believe that a vouchering system should be tried initially on a pilot basis before making extensive investments of time and money.

Youth naturally tends to share job and training opportunities information with friends and to bring them along on interviews. If a person referred to a job shows up with a group of friends, rejection is practically assured. That same principle applies to situations in which agency-appointed advocates go with applicants to the job interview. From the employer's point of view, this approach differs little from a parent accompanying the applicant for a job interview; either situation casts doubt on the youth's motivation and ability to assume job responsibility.

Program Packaging

As in any sales situation, the better the selection of available services, the better the chance of closing a deal. The program mix offered to an employer is critical. Services cannot be of the high-risk variety; the employer must be able to get involved in some ways that require little or no chance of "getting stung." It doesn't pay to be always knocking on the door asking only for jobs. More often than not, it is impossible for the employer to provide that kind of support. Most companies, however, have resources in terms of information and ideas that can be helpful in designing more effective programs and offering training-related services to unemployed youth.

It is important to deal with both in-school and out-of-school services, because combined preventative and remedial approaches offer a truly comprehensive package. Services must include activities that take place at the employer's worksite and those that will take the employer to schools and other places where services are needed. We believe that employment-related services to youth fall basically into four categories:

1) orientation to the world of work and assistance in making solid career choices;

2) remedial education and pre-employment, occupational, and skill training preparation;

3) job development and placement; and

4) general supportive services to strengthen the overall system.

This last category would include employer and other services to the counselors and parents of young people as well as a wide range of technical assistance in the areas of curriculum development, facility and equipment selection, and program administration.

To be saleable to an employer, a program must be manageable and its projected results attainable. One of the greatest problems in the employment and training business is the offering of promises that can't be kept. One way of assuring that activities are kept within manageable proportions is to avoid long-term situations. The longer the duration of any program activity, the greater its chances of developing complications and breakdowns. The degree of difficulty of any program must be carefully considered when attempting to match activities with the target group being served. The greater the degree of difficulty, the greater the risk involved in operating the program. This rule of thumb is particularly important in seeking the support of business organizations, since they must share in the risk being taken.

In addition to providing as many program options to the employer as possible and the offer of assurances of success by providing program services of manageable proportions, it is absolutely essential to answer the question: why? It is seldom clear to the employer that the company really needs the people or services being offered. To be very practical, no company would be adversely affected by the sudden disappearance of any manpower organization. However, it is not essential that the employer really need the service being offered in order to benefit from the results. Reasons for employers' "purchase" of service run the gamut from purely selfish (e.g., subsidized wages) to community-relations benefits. If an employer contact is concluded without answering the question why, there will be little likelihood of getting much from that employer.

Attempting to establish a mix of services aimed at doing all things for all people is a mistake. In identifying the selection of programs that is appropriate for an organization, however, there are a number of options to consider. Specialization can be carried too far if it eliminates the possibility of offering a reasonable variety of options in the marketplace. Once again, the size and nature of the local community and mix of organizational and manpower-system capabilities will help determine the final course. Client service can be specialized, both in terms of functions performed and the target group to be served. In dealing directly with clients, we believe the best approach is not to limit the functions and services that are available, but to offer more comprehensive services to a particular client group. The criteria for selection of that target group are not terribly important as long as the services match the need. What is important is that all the gaps are filled on a community-wide basis, and unproductive duplication of services is kept to a minimum. In general terms, a carefully chosen area of specialization means that it will be easier to find, motivate, and get production out of staff. It also means that it will be easier from a management point of view to concentrate the organization's efforts on the achievement of goals. Fine tuning a specialized program and effective problem-solving become a great deal easier.

There are some obvious disadvantages. Service limitations create a dependence on other sources to complete the circle in meeting the needs of unemployed youth. For example, the Jobs Council relies on other organizations to provide direct client services such as outreach, referral, and supportive services. At the present time, one of our most serious problems is inadequate referral services from other organizations within the local manpower system. We believe that this example of a weak link supports the contention that specialized approaches are needed. If one or more local organizations were selected to develop a highly sophisticated approach to outreach and referral, a major local gap would be filled. We are convinced that we must assist in the process of improving that part of the manpower system, rather than attempt to assume responsibility for such activities that don't fit our goals or structure.

The Jobs Council Model

Now in its tenth year, the Metropolitan Cleveland Jobs Council believes that it is on the right track in gaining access to the private sector for youth. Over that period, a wide variety of national and local developments have influenced the evolution of the Jobs Council's organizational structure and program mix. Affiliation with the National Alliance of Business has contributed greatly to employer orientation and the selection of programs geared to gain the attention and support of the business world. As the manpower division of the Greater Cleveland Growth Association (Cleveland's Chamber of Commerce), we have gained a degree of local recognition that would have been very difficult to achieve on a totally independent basis. As a private, non-profit organization, the Jobs Council enjoys freedom from political influence and from the burden of bureaucratic restriction on internal operations. Ironically, because of our long history of multiple affiliations and independent organization objectives, the Jobs Council has been viewed, until recently, as something of a maverick organization. We are pleased, therefore, to have had the opportunity to participate in the development of the Private Sector Initiative Program and to have served as one of several models considered in the design of that program. It is our hope that the example set by the Jobs Council and other organizations around the country will encourage other areas to follow a similar path. The concept of private intermediary organizations with close ties to business community resources that can be brought to bear on unemployment problems is exciting and challenging.

The Jobs Council and its staff of 45 permanent employees and ten summer employees are organized into several departments, some administrative, some program-oriented. Administrative activities that serve all programs include: Fiscal, Marketing, and Planning and Program Development. Other departments include On-the-Job Training, Special Projects, and Youth Programs.

Considered the core program, On-the-Job Training has been operating for the longest period of time. It permits day-to-day contact in the field on a one-to-one basis with employers, thus providing us with invaluable information on labor-market trends and employer problems, and, ultimately, with many program ideas that are implemented through other programs. In the past three years, over 800 individuals have successfully completed on-the-job training at an average cost of approximately $2,200 per person. In 1978, because of the established base of OJT capability, the Jobs Council was able to implement a HIRE II effort quickly and efficiently, which increased total output and enabled the local manpower system to take advantage of dollars that might not otherwise have been available to the community. Last year the Jobs Council developed 123 OJT contracts covering 621 persons.

Though not specifically geared to youth, we have learned that OJT is an effective means of introducing youth to the workforce. Youth participation in programs like OJT and others depends to a great extent on the approach used within the local manpower system to identify and refer candidates to such opportunities. At the present time, the prime sponsor is using the State Employment Service to perform referral services. No longer specializing in youth services, the State Employment Service is not referring youth in numbers proportionate to the need.

Our Special Projects Department concentrates on the development of classroom and coupled training programs that attack skill shortages in ways that cannot be accomplished in typical on-the-job training circumstances. OJT serves a greater percentage of small employers, and we find that certain needs cannot be met because of the lack of facilities, equipment, and instructional capabilities among them. By discovering problems that affect large segments of our business community, we identify training needs that can be addressed in other ways. This approach has resulted in a number of successful programs in machine tool operation, secretarial procedures, data processing, building maintenance, and sheet metal fabrication. In programs like this, industry specialists provide technical assistance and advice for designing and implementing training programs that meet specifically the needs of the private sector. By combining the resources of a number of companies to attack a project of mutual interest, it is possible to put together the extensive resources necessary to assure successful placement. Programs that are organized in this fashion tend to sell themselves on an on-going basis and to generate the continuing support from employers that results in the expansion and the effort.

We are very proud of the fact that the Jobs Council has been instrumental in the formation of a new organization in Cleveland called the Cleveland Machine Trades Association, a direct result of our experiences in marketing on-the-job training programs and in developing and coordinating special machine trades courses through our Special Projects Division. The Machine Trades Association, which we believe is the first of its kind, has been formed by a group of local industries, both large and small, with the participation of organized labor, and other community groups and educational institutions, to stimulate an awareness of and an interest in career opportunities in the machine trades among youth and other unemployed persons. In its first year, the Machine Trades Association has influenced the investment of local manpower dollars and made possible access to outside dollars at the state and national levels to finance programs that will train over 200 youth in a skill area where opportunities for advancement and earnings are excellent. In the long run, the efforts of the Machine Trades Association will assist in turning around a tragic underutilization of vocational educational facilities in our city. It is a perfect example of the value of combining the needs and resources of local industry with those of local institutions on behalf of the entire community.

The Jobs Council's Youth Department is, to a great extent, an outgrowth of our affiliation with the National Alliance of Business. Formed originally to develop a NAB-oriented Career Guidance Institute, our Youth Department now offers a range of services that we believe is truly comprehensive.

1. Career Guidance Institute. This year our Institute involves 20 local companies in providing on-site experiences for a similar number of high-school counselors. Each company funds the stipend for its counselor for his or her six-week participation, as well as the administrative expenses of the Jobs Council. At the present time, there are no federal funds involved in the support of this program. It is run in conjunction with Cleveland State University, which gives the participating counselors advanced degree credit. Since most school counselors come directly to that job from schools, few have had much experience in the private sector. This program offers them a rare look at the real work world. It is difficult to imagine how any counselor can provide realistic advice regarding career choices without having such exposure. Now in its sixth year, the Career Guidance Institute is recognized as an established effective linkage between our schools and local industry.

2. The Speaker's Bureau. Geared primarily to the 8th, 9th and 10th grades, the Bureau reached over 8,000 students in the Cleveland school system last year. Over 51 companies provided speakers on 267 separate occasions and on a wide variety of topics. Rather than using professionals who offer canned presentations on a repetitive basis, we find, whenever possible, persons who actually attended the school where the talk will be given and provide them with an orientation to the nature of our program prior to the engagement. We seek speakers who can say, "We've been there, and we've made it." By describing in such understandable terms the steps taken to achieve success, these speakers establish a rapport with studentsthat is hard to match. To the student who has little or no work experience, it proves that it is possible to get from the classroom to a career objective. By providing this kind of information to youngsters before they reach their third year in high school, we hope to enable them to consider alternatives in their choice of courses.

3. Vocational Exploration Program. Initiated by the National Alliance of Business several years ago, our Vocational Exploration Program was among the few such pilot projects in the country. At the present time, our year-round VEP effort is funded entirely with local CETA funding. In 1978, the Jobs Council had 42 contracts with local employers that provided vocational exploration opportunities for 570 youth. The attractive aspect of the Vocational Exploration Program is the opportunity for the employer to get a close look at a potential future employee without investing large sums of money in training and salary. At the same time, the young person has the opportunity to get an inside look at various aspects of company operation and determine whether that company fits his or her particular job interests.

Ultimately, the Vocational Exploration Program will afford opportunities for students who are not at the top of their class or enrolled in some of the more successful and glamorous vocational programs to receive the same kind of benefits that are available to youngsters who participate in cooperative education programs. This will require close ties with school administrators who have control over individual course credit for participation in programs of this nature. To assure that the greatest possible flexibility is introduced in developing future educational opportunities for the participating students, it is necessary for someone outside of the educational system to serve in an advocate role. The Vocational Exploration Program, then, offers an excellent chance for in- and out-of-school youth to get a shot at jobs in the private sector because the programs are tailor-made to offer both the participant and the employer the opportunity to get to know one another on a low-cost, non-committal basis.

We are concerned, however, about the attitude of many legislators and bureaucrats that the VEP should not, in any way, benefit the employer's profit picture. Insistence that the VEP permit only shadowing activities is a totally unrealistic, paranoid view related to the interests of persons not directly affected and denies both the employers and the youth the opportunity to experience real hands-on activity. Shadowing not only fails to test the individual's ability to perform a function or to provide the individual an opportunity to decide whether or not that function is something s/he wants to do; it also burdens the employers with administrative tasks that often preclude their participation in the program. The insistence that the VEP provide participant income maintenance only through CETA-administered training stipends also denies the students the opportunity to become an integral part of the employer's workforce and negates the impact of being paid directly by the employer. It is occasionally advantageous to have the option of paying participants training allowances versus the employer-payroll approach. But to withhold the option of becoming a wage earner on an employer's payroll is to eliminate another element of reality from what is supposed to be an exploration of the work world.

4. Skill Training Improvement Program. The Jobs Council is also involved in the coordination and implementation of a $4 million Skill Training Improvement Program (STIP), which covers five major occupational categories that are skill shortages in the Cleveland area. Our STIP has stimulated the greatest input of local industry participation in employment and training programs ever seen in our community. There are a total of 76 Cleveland companies, represented in various occupational operating committees, that are involved from beginning to end in the implementation of this program. By having extensive employer input of this kind, we anticipate no doubt regarding the employability of the individuals being trained in the program. With an entire program run under the watchful eye of industry specialists, we have the best possible sales device for assuring that the product will meet the needs of local employers.

All too often the initial justification of funding requires the guarantee of jobs from individual companies before approving the investment. We have learned the hard way that the up-front commitment of jobs by individual companies is probably the worst way to go. Few companies, even the most sophisticated, can project far in advance what their precise employment needs will be. Fluctuations in the economy are usually unpredictable and certainly not controllable by individual corporations. There are many internal decisions, unrelated to employment projection and based on other factors, that impact on future hiring policies. Dependence on promises of jobs under any circumstances is much more risky than methods that depend on employer commitment to participate in the development and operation of the program. We see the STIP as being the potential model for similar kinds of activities operated on an expanded basis under the Private Sector Initiative Program. Development of the Machine Trades Association is a direct off-shoot of initial work done by the STIP Machine Trades Operating Committee.

5. Other Activities. The Jobs Council also engages in a series of general employer support activities that include the provision of labor-market information and the analysis of equal employment opportunity requirements. We are not prepared to offer in-depth services in either area, but we are sufficiently aware of local labor market conditions and affirmative action planning to offer reasonable advice to local employers.

In summary we believe that the Jobs Council has organized a program mix that offers youth opportunities to talk and work with all kinds of employers. In only the rarest of cases is it likely that an employer will find nothing of interest within our program activities. Allowing for the fact that each employer has different needs, attitudes, and policies, it is possible to benefit employer interest and participation. All cities need the kind of change agent who can do more than ask for help--who can actually become involved in seeing to it that help is given.

Delivery Institutes

Because of the extent of the Jobs Council's involvement in the development of training programs, our experience in dealing with public, private profit, and non-profit educational institutions is extensive. The quality of services delivered by such institutions varies tremendously. As a general rule of thumb, we believe that we get the best service and training from private, for-profit institutions rather than from public or private nonprofit organizations, primarily because the profit-making organization has an incentive to do the best possible job. Entering into performance contracts with profit-making organizations offers us the opportunity to influence program delivery and to place specific demands for results. There are exceptions that clearly indicate that outstanding performance is possible in the public and private non-profit sectors.

In selecting training service deliverers for STIP and other programs, the Jobs Council investigated a wide range of service deliverers and selected those that we felt could best do the job. In consultation with industry operating committees, the selection was made on professional assessments of the quality of facilities, equipment, curriculum, educational staff, and administrative capabilities. The STIP is using a local private non-profit organization that specializes in training of handicapped individuals. We are also using a facility of the Cleveland Public School System that is contained in a building donated several years ago by a major Cleveland corporation and that uses equipment donated by Cleveland employers in a special drive conducted by the Jobs Council several years ago. Two private for-profit training institutions are involved, one affiliated with a major manufacturing corporation and the other a local grass-roots training organization. We are working with a local community college in an off-site training operation designed to simulate working world conditions for secretarial skills. Whether we are talking about the development of occupational, pre-occupational, academic, or career-education programs, it has become obvious to the Jobs Council that such services may be best provided by any of a wide selection of resources. Whenever possible, we investigate the use of company-owned and -operated training facilitators. This is dependent on the availability of such facilities and on the level of our relationship with that corporation.

It is difficult to determine the overall quality and quantity of occupational training being conducted locally, because there are no central or accurate sources of information to tell us the combined results of all training efforts. We hope to undertake--perhaps under the auspices of the Private Sector Initiative Program--a survey that will give us a good picture of what is going on. We believe that it is important to know not just where the skills shortages or the job opportunities are but also the degree to which newly trained workers are being funneled into the labor market. One of the key considerations in assessing the impact of the educational and job training system is a thorough knowledge of the business community's opinion and experience.

Time and time again we hear the complaints of industry, undocumented and general though they may be, that the product of our public schools falls considerably short of the entry-level expectations of most employers. For the most part these complaints do not refer to shortcomings in extensive vocational preparation. What we hear is that many graduating seniors cannot read, write, or engage in simple mathematical computations at a level high enough for many entry-level jobs. Since the one-on-one job interview depends so much on first impressions and on the abilities of the job seeker to communicate effectively to sell himself, it is alarming to hear that employers are saying that young job-seekers often fail to get past the first stage. This message is coming from all segments of the business community--not just the small employer who sees mostly casual walk-in traffic, but also the large, sophisticated company that engages in extensive recruitment efforts to find qualified individuals from all segments of the community. We used to hear with some regularity that the primary quality sought by employers was reliability, a quality that is difficult if not impossible to measure in any job applicant. let alone a youth that is totally lacking in any prior experience. Although that concern remains strong among many employers, it is over-shadowed by the weakness in the basic education level achieved by many high-school graduates. Most employers feel that the schools are (or should be) the primary source of new employees but the quality of the product appears to be diminishing at a time when most jobs demand more than ever from the employee.

The time is right, because of this awareness, to persuade employers to become actively involved in industry/school linkages. Participation can include serving in an advisory capacity in program design; participating in classroom activities; arranging plant tours; providing technical assistance to persons who are responsible for job development and the placement of graduates; and, where conditions warrant and permit, participating in the financial and other administrative aspects of the school system. The Cleveland school system, which is faced with serious problems related to a shrinking tax base and to a court-ordered integration plan, has come full circle in its attitude toward accepting help from the outside world. Recently, the superintendent of schools has issued personal invitations to the business community to assist them in seeking solutions to their problems. We expect the Jobs Council to be involved in the areas of vocational and career education. Without a genuine open-door policy that welcomes and uses the advice of business professionals, the results are often shallow and short-termed and cause employer frustration leading to noninvolvement and even more adamant criticism.

One of the most unfortunate problems in Cleveland area industry/school relationships is the underutilization of existing vocational education facilities. For many years, Cleveland schools have had close relationships with companies surrounding them. In more recent times, those relationships appear to have broken down almost completely. In instances where a school used to provide large numbers of graduates to fill the job needs of neighborhood industries, we now find few cases of students taking courses that are geared to those companies. As a result, efforts to find qualified candidates from nearby schools usually produce poor results. The fault is probably equally shared by both the school system and private industry. It seems that when things were going well, people in industry and in the schools began to take their relationship for granted and failed to recognize the signs of breakdown in communication and support. With long-range manpower planning being an industry rarity, not many companies were taking a systematic, close look at their workforce to determine future needs.

In Cleveland, and many other cities, the shortage of highly skilled workers has come about, not suddenly, but over a long period of time. It is only recently that an awareness of that condition has become widely apparent. Skilled workers are retiring from large and small companies at alarming rates. Traditional means of replacing them, such as sons following in fathers' footsteps, are no longer meeting the demand. The emphasis in high schools and families on the importance of a college education clearly undercuts the consideration of blue collar, high-skilled careers as an acceptable option. Schools, with their myriad problems, are unable to staff and fund the kind of promotion and sales effort that would help bring about private-sector participation. The help of an intermediary agency in accomplishing a re-introduction of close ties between schools and industry will be needed to stimulate action.

Locally, we have decided to approach the problem on a pilot basis, and we are looking for a good starting point. We think the best bet is to find a particular neighborhood school where conditions, attitudes, and the nature of the problems facing them offer a chance of success within a reasonable period of time. Eventually, knowledge gained in that way can be applied to more difficult situations. Though it's difficult to know where to begin because there are so many needs, we believe that a review of the quality of curriculum and equipment used in providing occupational vocational training is a top priority. Work must be done to impact on the process of providing credit for employment-related activities and to influence school administrators to be more flexible in providing course opportunities and changes to students who decide on or wish to change their career objectives during the last year or two of their education.

The already extensive resources allocated to deal with problems of unemployed youth will keep increasing unless we assist the public schools in improving the preparation of individuals for the transition to the world of work. At the present time, there is a serious division of responsibilities and resources in terms of public support that make comprehensive approaches difficult if not impossible to implement. The complexity of trying to tie together the vast resources of Health, Education and Welfare and the Department of Labor suggest that something needs to be done by those agencies to make joint local packaging more feasible.

One of the most critical problems is the fragmentation of services available to youth in the community. Though there are a number of organizations in Cleveland that are youth-oriented, they are widely scattered and uncoordinated and range widely in quality of service. Consider, for example, the services available for referring hard-to-locate youth who can be referred quickly and effectively to existing job and training opportunities. The most effective services to young people in our community are being provided by small community-based organizations. In some cases the level of service is outstanding, and we tap those resources as often as possible. But CBOs are usually limited in the numbers of people they are able to serve. A number of years ago, the Department of Labor established a network of youth-employment offices operated by the State Employment Service System. That concept offered great potential for providing a focal point for concentrated outreach, assessment, and referral.

Unfortunately, it eventually became obvious that an aggressive youth-employment service tied closely to an established major institution became a direct threat by competing for job opportunities and the attention of the business community. Competition in some phases of the manpower system might be productive, but the effect within the State Employment Service bureaucracy was devastating. Attempting to be "all things to all people," the State Employment Service seemed incapable of concentrating its attention on the youth problem without creating opposition within the rest of the agency. From a marketing point of view, it appeared counterproductive to approach employers on one day emphasizing the need for youth employment, the next day promoting veterans, and the day after seeking jobs for handicapped individuals. It is a simple matter for an employer to close his doors to the repeated demands of a variety of organizations in pursuit of their own particular interest.

That problem continues today in a variety of nationally oriented promotional efforts that tend to be very trendy and cause a division of attention among employers. State Employment Service agencies have assumed the responsibility for massive amounts of paperwork related to their activities. Though there are undoubtedly exceptions in other parts of the country, it is our observation that the continued layering of new tasks on top of basic Employment Service services have not been backed up with sufficient technical assistance or dollars to get the job done. The heavy and complex responsibilities of the front-line placement interviewers often force them to give scant attention to functions that take them away from traditional placement activities. Even with the vast investment in job bank and matching systems, there is little relief from the workload burdens that impede the delivery of needed specialized services. Often lacking the autonomy necessary for local flexibility, Employment Service offices have difficulty operating in any way other than strictly by the book. Youth employment needs demand a much more innovative approach than can be offered under such restricted conditions.

A perfect example of the kind of problem we think is common to state employment agencies is the current situation regarding implementation of the Targeted Jobs Tax Credit Program. When that program was first announced, it wasn't clear how it fit into the broad spectrum of manpower services. After careful consideration, we became convinced that the Targeted Jobs Tax Credit approach would improve our sales arsenal. Unfortunately, there still is no mechanism in place in the State of Ohio for using the Targeted Jobs Tax Credit Program. Failure to implement this program appears to be related to the fact that the additional resources necessary to handle the extra workload connected with the program are not being provided. Though state employment agencies still provide direct placement services to large numbers of people, the scope of their mission makes effective response to specifically targeted needs impossible.

Another approach to linking youth with jobs that should serve as an effective inducement to some employers also has slipped considerably in its impact on the problem. Formal, registered apprenticeship programs administered through the Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training are no longer as popular as they used to be, either among job-seekers themselves or among the employers who must support them. Such programs are still a viable tool in occupational categories demanding high and versatile skills, such as tool and die making and most of the building trades. Two-, three-, and four-year apprenticeships are viewed by many employers as being unnecessarily restrictive and lengthy in preparing individuals for productive employment. In an age where specialization is common, training in a broad range of related skills is not economically feasible. Labor costs often discourage the long-term commitment necessary for many apprenticeship programs. Also, many of the skills that are offered through registered apprenticeship programs can be provided in industry settings more quickly, thereby reducing the training costs and speeding up the process of providing maximum productivity on the line. Even from the point of view of many job-seekers, apprenticeships are less attractive than many high-paying production jobs that require little or no formal training. Small employers, in particular, are very reluctant to engage in long-term training commitments because of their experience of losing trained workers to larger corporations that can offer higher wages.

Part of the problem relates to the inability of BAT to market its services effectively, due, perhaps, to a lack of staff and technical support through training and updating of the system. There should be much more of a linkage between the apprenticeship program and programs such as OJT and VEP to increase the chances of gaining employer interest. Although the Jobs Council has provided information regarding these programs and even some in-depth training to assist other agencies in using our services, we see far less effort than should be expected.

Conclusion

If we are prepared to accept the fact that, after ten years of manpower planning and program operation and the expenditure of billions of dollars, the net result is that the problem of youth unemployment is more severe now than ever before, perhaps we can free ourselves from the past, take a few chances, and move forward. If we are correct in our contention that our primary task is to sell employers on the utilization of workers from targeted groups such as unemployed youth, then we must develop a business-like sales strategy that works. The product is people, and there are definite limitations on our ability to shape the individual to meet specific demands of an employer. It is probably the most difficult product of all to sell. The emphasis, therefore, must be placed on the development of high-quality services and organizations that are capable of carrying out the plan.

In order for us to get our act together, national policy must provide the positive atmosphere in which local organizations can succeed and grow. Current policies permit a multiplicity of uncoordinated programs, practically assuring that service delivery at the local level will include many organizations that have not developed the level of professionalism and experience necessary to carry out effective program activity. Too many organizations become an integral part of service-delivery systems based on the assumption that their confidence in their ability to work with young people is enough to get the job done. We must get away from the notion that we are dealing with a problem than can be solved with good intentions and hard work alone. Penetration of private-sector opportunities demands that we avoid the social-service and charity image and apply business-like approaches in dealing with business people. Steps must be taken to assure that only competent organizations will be involved in future manpower development systems.

It is discouraging to see the recent tendency of elected officials to introduce and emphasize restrictive anti-fraud elements in major manpower legislation. The negative atmosphere created by this attitude and the impact on local morale will probably detract from the ultimate quality and quantity of services rendered. This is a complex and risky business, and it is unrealistic to assume that there will not occasionally be loose ends and dollars lost to inefficiency and abuse. We believe that such problems can be more effectively minimized by assuring that sound business judgment and practices outweigh political considerations in organizing the local system. The question of liability is a major concern among employers. The incentive for a company to actively support manpower programs is greatly reduced by the presence of poorly defined, threatening regulations. With a more positive approach, we are confident that many organizations can develop programs that are marketable, manageable, and creditable, yielding the kinds of results that we have been seeking for a long time.

There is no great mystery about our failure to produce better results. There is no secret formula for solving the problem. We cannot simply say, "Open Sesame," and disappear the problem. Rather, like Dorothy in the "Wizard of Oz," we must follow the yellow brick road to its end. We know that the road winds through many dark and dangerous places, but we have the advantage of knowing that it is so. With increased confidence in our ability to get the job done, we'll reach the end of the road. When we get there, we'll discover that the Wizard is a fairly normal person who knows that the answer is not magical after all.

YOUTH ACCESS TO PRIVATE SECTOR JOBS: THE SORCERER'S APPRENTICE

BY

David Robison

Remember the Sorcerer's Apprentice? In the movie, Fantasia, Mickey Mouse kept producing more brooms and pails, but the tide of water kept rising. This is what is happening to us. A great many youths are trained and placed in the private sector, but the tide of untrained and jobless youths keeps growing. We seem to fail because more and more youths, especially the disadvantaged, are not served well. We are falling behind.

What must be done? We must change the structure and organization of youth services in this country. If we don't,nothing else will matter.

First, we must revolutionize the financing available for all training, alternative education, counseling and placement services. Most of the good programs are regularly in desperate financial straits. They can only serve a small fraction of the numbers of youths which they are capable of reaching. We must have a bisic entitlement for each youth needing employability services. It must be as automatic and more far-reaching than the G.I. Bill. We must not get caught up in having to prove the cost-effectiveness of everything we do. Was the cost-effectiveness of the G.I. Bill ever challenged? Either we believe in the right of every American to be trained, or we don't. Either we believe in our society's need to have everyone trained and prepared for work, or we don't.

The second change must be to make better use of the hundreds of private-sector organizations which could serve youths. Together, they must form a Private Youth Job Service.

Third, we must revolutionize the incentives to employers to hire the youths, and to move them into jobs beyond the entry level.

Let us dispel the notion that a considerable proportion of these youths don't want to work. In 1975, about 75% of the 18 and 19-year olds in inner cities had left school and wanted full-time jobs. Because of high dropout rates, about 60% of unemployed 16 and 17-year-olds were seeking, but not finding, part-time or full-time work. The youths who don't want to work are still a small percentage of the total who do.

By the standard of access to jobs in the private, profit-making sector, most of our efforts have failed. The single greatest failure is the state employment service system. The Job Service hardly touches the youths we are concerned with, yet it has 2,400 offices nationwide and uses $800 million annually. In Milwaukee, Elmer Winter's Operation 4000 obtained 1,600 job orders for minority youths this summer. The job orders were turned over to the Job Service. Only 1,000 referrals, and 110 job placements, were made.

We need an effective youth labor market service. This should be based on the hundreds of private-sector, youth-serving agencies, all types of private employment agencies, and profit-making training institutions. Since government has failed to create that labor market exchange for youths, we must turn to the existing institutions within the private sector.

CETA has failed to transition disadvantaged youths into the private sector. CETA is predominantly concerned with adults. At least 60% of the CETA effort in recent years has been channeled into public service employment for adults. This is a form of transfer payment in return for work in public jobs, with virtually no training supplied. The result has been a weakening of the capacity of the entire manpower system to provide skills training and employability services. This country is less able to train youths appropriately now than it was ten years ago.

Job entitlement projects for in-school youths in 17 cities, affecting 46,000 16-19 year-olds, have become a form of youth public service employment. So far, the entitled youths have spent only 13% of all of their job hours with profit-making firms. These projects have not brought us to a high rate of youth transition into the private sector.

Above all, the public schools have failed to prepare disadvantaged youths for work. The most basic kind of counseling interventions are needed for that 50% of the typical public high school class which is not bound for postsecondary education. Appropriate counseling hardly exists in the public schools. Guidance counselors spend very little of their time on students who are failing or who are barely attending school. Yet it has not been possible to challenge the monopoly of the public schools' claim to public funding on behalf of these youths. The schools check in the students between 8:30 and 9:30 in the morning and then are paid for a full day of services, when, in fact, around half of the students in inner-city schools are hanging around outside after the attendance-taking period, usually within one or two blocks of the school. The schools must be held financially accountable for their failures if we are to bring about real change.

What has succeeded? Hundreds of small youth programs and activities have achieved creditable results in gaining youth access to the private sector. These results are a reflection mainly of the efforts of individual program leaders, counselors, placement officers, teachers and instructors. Wherever a good program is found, it is individual leadership, which is largely responsible. Yet, we scarcely reward this leadership with stable budgets. Because of inflation, most good teachers and counselors must aspire to become administrators, and to give up the work in which they are most effective. We are rarely concerned with staff development as opposed to program and knowledge development. We are investing hundreds of millions of dollars in research, and very little in retraining good youth program leaders and teachers.

It is questionable whether the present structure of youth funding under YEDPA is effective. Compartmentalization into many separate types of youth grants seems undesirable. Each prime sponsor should be able to apply for one consolidated youth grant covering all youth activities. The focus should be on the delivery of services. Much greater attention is needed for transition efforts into the private sector--skills training, intensive counseling, careful and personalized job development, referral, placement and re-placement. Profit making and nonprofit program operators should get the bulk of the funds--especially to the extent that they attract and retain the hardest-to-serve youths in their programs.

Surveys of private-sector jobs programs indicate that there have been literally hundreds of small local youth activities which have achieved commendable results over the past 15 years. These have been mostly private programs run by private agencies. In a great many cases, these activities no longer exist. Why not? Mostly because of the lack of stable program funding. Government simply does not support the effective programs on apolitical grounds. Government also does not know what is effective. Since the days of MDTA, literally thousands of reports have been filed describing program efforts and results. These reports have disappeared into the bureaucracy rather than leading to a cumulative process of improved programs. The inability to state what works in the youth employment field is in reality the failure of the employment and training system to develop a body of techniques and a stable system of youth services.

Our efforts so far to involve the business community have also largely failed. Business is noticeably less receptive to the new Title VII than it was to the NAB program ten years ago. Business cannot be conned: Businessmen know that advisory councils, now called Private Industry Councils, are not very meaningful. Prime sponsors have made clear that they intend to dominate the decision-making by the PICs. The major hope is that a large number of PICs will become operational bodies as business-run intermediary organizations. But this is a hope for the future, not a present reality. In any case, the PICs are unlikely to serve a high proportion of disadvantaged youths through their operations.

On-the-job training has also failed to become the major private industry vehicle that it might have been. Annual funding of about $350 million is only 1/22 of the funding for public service employment. Not much of a dent in gaining access for youth can be accomplished with $350 million, either for OJT or for Title VII. $350 million is only about 3% of the $12 billion spent on CETA and the Employment Service.

The fact is that we have a list in America of who will be unemployed. At the top of the list is minority youth; second is white youth; third is minority adults. The burden of youth unemployment is carried disproportionately by the youths themselves, and secondly, by their family and loved ones. This burden must be shifted more onto the shoulders of the society at large. Presently, adults carry the burden mainly by paying the high social and economic costs of youth crime.

To change the structure and organization of youth services, we must change the factors influencing both the supply and demand for employable youths. On the demand side, the leading factor is the use of an adequate and simple tax credit. The present Targeted Jobs Tax Credit fails on all counts. It is presently designed to be ineffective. It is idiotic to require the eligibility to be proved on the basis of the youth's family income for the previous six months. This is an unwarranted intrusion into the private lives of the families of disadvantaged people. It is unworkable and unnecessary. In order to limit the use of the tax credit to those who are hardest-to-employ, it is not necessary to demand proof of income.

Eligibility for the tax credit or other youth services should preferably be determined by whether a young person lacks marketable skills, basic education, or previous work experience. These factors, rather than income, should determine who is "disadvantaged" and eligible to be served. The determination could be made easily by youth-serving agencies--in about five minutes by a skilled counselor. I believe that quantitative eligibility standards, such as income, turn away large numbers of deserving youths, and are greatly inferior to simple judgements by trained youth workers in private agencies. I believe, moreover, that these eligibility judgements can in most cases be insulated from political pressures and favoritism. Intrusions of ward politics and patronage can be minimized by avoiding stipends, and by concentrating on those services needed by the least employable youths.

Other major changes must be made if the tax credit is to become effective. The present system virtually requires that the person become certified as eligible for the tax credit after they have attempted to gain a job. This is crazy. No employer will wait for one, two, or three weeks while the person attempts to become certified. If the tax credit is to have any influence on hiring decisions, those eligible for the credit must be certified before they are referred for jobs.

Youth-serving agencies should recruit the youths, determine their eligibility on the basis of their need for assistance, and shepherd them through the process of certification. Certified youths would then bring two documents to the employer: a certification that the youth is eligible for the tax credit, and a brochure describing the economics of the tax credit and its comparison both to the basic business deduction for wages and to OJT. Among the seven targeted groups for the tax credit are work/study or cooperative education students. We should use the tax credit to greatly expand the number of co-op students.

The value of the present tax credit is wholly inadequate as an inducement for hiring disadvantaged youths. For most employers whose business tax rate is 48%, the benefit will be $1,560 in the first year, and $750 in the second year. This is not large enough to overcome existing employer preferences for older and more experienced people.

What would be an adequate financial inducement to change the hiring queue? This can be tested by trying varying levels of tax credit. Probably, it would be about $3,000 for the first year--about double the actual level today.

The inducement should be on a sliding scale, starting at 100% of minimum wages at the beginning of a job, when the youth is virtually unproductive, and then declining based on the number of months on the job. A representative scheme would involve a tax credit worth 100% of entry-level wages at the start of employment. It would decline after three months to 75% of the minimum wage. After six months, it would decline to 50% and continue at that level until the end of the first year of employment. The principle, in any case, is that the tax credit, or any other financial inducement, must be large enough to tip the balance of hiring decisions.

What about employers such as fast food chains? Should they get a tax credit? Yes - if the youth lacks basic employability skills.

One other method to encourage firms to employ disadvantaged youths would be to provide a tax credit for training which upgrades people from the entry ranks. Employers are very concerned that most youths they hire will have to be trained at the company's expense. Companies should be permitted to set up a tax reserve for human resource development. This country already provides a tax reserve for depreciation of equipment. Employers should be allowed to make human resource development deductions from their federal income taxes annually--up to, say, 10% of sales. The allowance might be limited to the lower levels of training on the firm's career ladder. It would greatly encourage the use of internal company training programs to upgrade people from the entry level.

How can we develop a Private Youth Job Service, based on the existing private-sector organizations? The basic element is the availability of a financial entitlement for the youths. Once it becomes financially advantageous to deal with these youths, private agencies will actively recruit and serve them. This financing must overcome the present failures of targeting; it must be based on the individual, and not on the program; it must be virtually automatic; it must provide stable financing for private-sector organizations; and it must be in the form of an entitlement for all youths who need employability services.

Literally, the ghettos would then become a major source of supply to private agencies for the most disadvantaged youths carrying the largest entitlements. This, hopefully, is one answer to the perennial problem of creaming: namely, that programs normally serve the most employable youths in order to get the best results. With an entitlement, however, the greatest financial stability would come from serving those youths who have the greatest disadvantages. The larger the employability deficits of the youth, the longer the services would be applicable. These services would terminate only when full-time, private-sector employment was achieved. Even then, additional post-placement services would be available, especially efforts to upgrade the youths at a later stage.

By comparison, it is impossible today to provide an adequate level of funding per youth through the CETA mechanism. There is a powerful trend toward cutting down on the level of expenditure per youth. An entitlement seems to be an essential financial mechanism.

Entitlements would also seem to be politically necessary in order to show major groups how their self-interest would be served. Most groups consider first how their ethnic population will be helped. Clearly, a high proportion of minority youths would receive entitlements. Where there was a dearth of private agencies to serve these youths, particularly in many inner cities, old or new private agencies might get into manpower activities to gain the financial resources provided by these entitlements.

Also, a great many community colleges are willing and able to serve disadvantaged youths by offering basic occupational courses. Community colleges are much more flexible and receptive to disadvantaged youths than are the public schools. They are publicly supported and yet similar to private institutions in their entrepreneurial attitudes. They are typically community-based and very responsive to community needs. They have the potential to provide a full range of services, including supportive counseling, to several hundred thousand disadvantaged youths who are alienated from the public schools.

It is most important that no stipends be paid to the youths. We must focus on employability training and services, not on income transfers. Stipends use too many financial resources, and sharply decrease the amount of training which is fundable. The individual youth's need for income should be met by a placement in part-time work. Work experience is valuable in its own right, and is a means to add reality to the training. Moreover, it establishes the appropriate level of motivation to separate those people who want training from those who merely want a free stipend.

By eliminating stipends, we can carry out the concept that an entitled youth should obtain services for as long as he needs them--up to the point of obtaining full-time employment. In addition, this concept of open entry - open exit would strengthen the use of part-time work and the carrying out of menial work as part of employability training. There is nothing wrong with menial work so long as it is not a dead-end process. Millions of youths need to engage in menial work at the start of their working experience. It is up to society, and thus the responsibility of the manpower system, to provide a process whereby youths are supported in their movement upward from menial, minimum-wage and entry-level jobs. Thus, the entitlement would also pay for private agency services after placement. These services would include post-placement counseling; re-placement to other job duties within the employer's work force, or with another employer; and re-placement into appropriate skills training.

What about the potential for fraud and abuse? Profit-making proprietary schools are growing nationwide to fill the enormous gaps in vocational education. Several major abuses are charged to the proprietary schools: Collectively, they are said to be turning out far too many graduates for the available job openings in a number of fields; they are said to misrepresent their placement statistics; their salesmen are often paid on commission and make oral promises of assured placements which do not exist; and they may take too much time and charge too much for the training needed for specific vocations.

Nevertheless, proprietary schools are far more competitive and effective than the state networks of vocational-technical schools. Widespread proprietary school abuses may exist, largely because of the virtual absence of effective regulation.

With a nationwide system of entitlements, it would be necessary to make regular on-site checks of the adequacy of services provided by private agencies and training schools. Otherwise, youths might be trained for nonexisting jobs, might be poorly matched to the demands of the training, and might become victims of haphazard counseling and placement. It is too much to expect the individual youths to have adequate information about the labor market or about the quality of services they may expect. Institutional policing is necessary, but it should not be the wedge for further federal regulation of private institutions.

Regulations should be carried out at the state level by quasi-governmental boards composed of representatives from the private-sector organizations. The consumers, that is, the youths, should also be represented. Each institution making use of entitlements would be evaluated annually, and would be accredited for one year at a time.

The combination of relying on private organizations and the use of a broad entitlement would probably revolutionize the structure of youth services in this country. Predictably, the supply of services would rise to meet the demand for these services from entitled youths. Government could still adjust the total level of expenditures by its policy decisions concerning the total number of youths gaining entitlements and the total value of services to be financed in this manner. Without such a combination of private program operations and basic entitlements, the level of youth services will continue to be grossly inadequate. Indeed, the gap between the services needed and the services offered will continue to grow.

One other major reason for the entitlement is that we have failed in our manpower efforts to target on those youths who most need the services--the out-of-school and jobless youths. A study just completed by the Congressional Budget Office, covering the school year 1977-78, shows that three-fourths of the federal education and employment and training funds are being spent on youths whose family income is in the lowest 40% of all American families. That is commendable. However, the funds are staggeringly maldistributed in terms of per capita expenditures on categories of youths according to their school status.

The study shows that for the low-income youth attending post-secondary schooling, the federal government is spending an average annual amount of $1,900. For college dropouts, the figure is $43. For those completing high school, the amount is $163. For the high school dropout, the amount is only $267.

Thus, the federal government is spending only 14% on high school dropouts of the amount that it is spending on college students. If it costs an average of about $2,300 to maintain a student in a public high school, while we spend only $267 on the high school dropout, that is only 12% of the funds spent on the in-school youth.

Also, many low-income students enter college and drop out within their first year. If they do, they receive an average of only $43 of expenditure per year.

These are the critical failures of targeting. We know that high school dropouts form the hard core unemployed who so often face a life of rejection, failure, and poverty. Why, then, spend an average of only $267 per person on this critical population?

Which youths should be served in some way? How many? There are about 4.5 million poor youths in this country--2.8 million white youths and 1.7 million non-white youths. This is using the lowest government definition of poverty. If we include all youths coming from families with an income of $7,900 or less, the total is 7.1 million youths. Thus, if we make the assumption that some additional educational and training aid should probably be targeted at a majority of poor youths, we would try to serve between 4.5 million and 7.1 million youths.

We might target instead on the one million jobless youths, both white and black, in poverty areas, rural and urban. If a basic entitlement was worth an average of $3,000 annually per youth, and we targeted on one million jobless youths from poor areas, the total cost would be about $3 billion per year.

If we targeted more broadly on some four out of seven poor youths, or about four million youths, at a cost of $3,000 per year, the basic entitlement would cost about $12 billion annually.

Unless we spend at least $3 billion more annually, the problems of the growing underclass will not be affected.

The basic principles should be that the entitlement will cover all youths who need employability services; that eligibility for these services must be based on lack of employability, and not based on income; and that these services must be applied in the public schools as much as outside them.

Preparation for work in its broadest sense has to start at least in the eighth grade. This is not a narrow focus on vocational education. Rather, it is a broad focus on: basic education--no matter what the grade level; self-awareness and social awareness; orientation to expected behavior and norms in further education, training, and work; real work exploration and career awareness; skills training; and job development and placement. The public and vocational schools must become a more vital and immediate labor pool for profit-making employers. To the extent that schools do not provide these services, school budgets should be proportionately cut, and the monies applied to other organizations that will serve these youths.

We must create an environment in which the hardest-to-employ youths receive the most extensive services over the longest period of time--paid as a matter of right by government. Out-of-school youths are entitled to at least the same expenditure per capita as in-school youths. At present, we are only spending about 1/8 as much on the dropout as on the high school student.

Finally, we must emphasize quality job development and placement efforts. These services are mostly absent from government-supported activities, yet they are basic to successful training for local employers. Almost without exception, training alone is not enough. Good job development and placement techniques make it feasible to transfer youths from the public to the private sector. They are the engine which drives manpower programs to succeed and to renew themselves. They justify the training and become the end product. The high liklihood of a job motivates the trainees and influences the credibility and reputation of the program. It also affects the recruitment of the youths and motivates the program staff by providing them with an important sense of job satisfaction and task completion. Where job development is successful, the program gains community support and employer involvement. Job development also sets parameters for other program elements, such as training and counseling. It provides a sharp reality basis for the program and for the youths. It is keyed to employer satisfaction. It is based on a system of regular contacts with employers. The job development staff must provide a rapid, next-day response to employer telephone calls or want ads listing job openings. The staff must have a clear knowledge of each firm's specific personnel requirements. The program should provide a regular output of young graduates throughout the calendar year.

Training should be responsive to newer methods and equipment. It should provide adequate basic skills to the trainee, and offer an awareness of bureaucratic or industrial procedures. The work behavior preparation must stress attendance and punctuality, work habits, standards of dress and speech, motivation and the desire to improve oneself, and attitudes toward productivity and responsibility.

These elements of good job development and placement have often been considered secondary to classroom training, but from the employer's point of view, they are essential. It is then possible to work with the employer to an unusual degree, and to influence working conditions and job upgrading as well.

Why should we take these steps? There are a few simple answers:

Because so many young people are suffering.

Because it is feasible to employ a large proportion of these youths in the private sector.

Because jobless and untrained youths represent a huge and needless waste of human resources.

Because, as the National Youth Advocacy Coalition insists, youths are the future of the nation. All youths.

YOUTH AND THE PRIVATE SECTOR

Kathy Garmezy
Vice President's Task Force on Youth
Employment

The ultimate aim of youth employment and employability development efforts is to prepare young persons for meaningful career roles and to assure that they gain entry to career opportunities. Private sector involvement is necessary both in the preparatory phase and in providing career entry employment opportunities.

To determine private sector perspectives on youth employment problems and programs, the Vice President's Task Force on Youth Employment coordinated a series of five Private Sector/Education Roundtables jointly convened by the Task Force and Brandeis University. A total of 222 people attended fifteen 1/2-day working sessions; 133 private businesses were represented, including 77 of the Nation's largest corporations. Separate meetings were held with representatives of 60 major national private corporations or Washington-based business associations. There were also six White House Briefings for local business persons, involving a total of 56 people. The findings are summarized below:

General Viewpoints

- Business is distressed that--not only are they unable to find young people who have an understanding of the work world, but, they are increasingly unable to find young people who can read and write.
- They perceive an ever widening gap between the job needs of industry and the employability of youth. Skill training needs are becoming more specified and complex.
- The jobs that do exist are often not where young people live, or else cannot use them. The post industrial nature of the American economy in the 1980's--in which service, leisure, medical, communications, and highly technological industries show the greatest growth--is perhaps the issues of most significance to all job creation, training, and employment programs. These are the jobs which youth are least able to compete for.
- Business and youth meet most often through the school system. While business contact is often sporadic, the private sector focuses on the schools more than any other intervention.

- Business prefers to do its own skills training but is willing to do so with the assistance of other intermediaries (most noteably schools and community organizations).

- The degree to which the private sector hires young people is dependent on their immediate job needs--current subsidies or tax credits only indirectly affect these decisions.

Perceptions of Educational Strategies and Institutions

- Career education is needed in all grades and all schools, urban and suburban. Schools should begin to introduce jobs and careers to children in the elementary grades and then reinforce this knowledge with a progressively developed exposure to the work world.

- Real work experience is needed for all high school age youth; however, it must
    - be designed to give kids a sense of self-esteem and success;
    - involve productive work valued by the employer and the community;
    - be linked to academic and counseling services.

- Programs should be consolidated or comprehensive so that kids feel at home, understand the connections between different aspects of their experience, and get reinforced for their positive behaviors.

- Community and junior colleges represent an under-utilized resource for youth employment programs. Greater inducements should be made available to encourage linkages between these institutions and public schools, CBO's, and prime sponsors.

- Schools should provide kids with individual goals, the ability to make informed decisions, and the self-discipline to follow through on those decisions, as well as offering them useful adult role models.

- There is a need for improved training of guidance counselors. Many companies perceive the counselors as the key people affecting the career development of young adults. Strategies for improving the effectiveness of counselors include:
    - changing college training programs to include world-of-work curricula;
    - increasing the number of guidance personnel in public schools;
    - sensitizing both the counselors and school administrators to the needs of minorities and the disadvantaged;
    - requiring both counselors and teachers to spend some time in the business sector as part of their internships or in-service training.

Comments on Employment and Training Programs

- The role of the public sector in creating and sustaining employment possibilities is necessary for three key reasons:
    - a widespread belief that there are too few jobs available now and in the immediate future in inner-city areas;
    - a perception that many important services need to be developed in urban and rural areas and that these will not, in the short term, prove sufficiently profitable to attract the private sector;
    - a strong impression that the public sector is particularly adept at providing the "bridge" jobs which youth need as they build an employment record.
- There is a widespread perception, among both employers and educators, that existing "job banks" or referral services are not working very well.
- Effective work programs in the public sector should
    - result in tangible community benefits which will not only give the youths a sense of accomplishment , they will also generate community support for youth programs.

- they focus on areas where the market has not responded to needs, but also build links to the unions and businesses which, ultimately, will be the "consumers" of their human "products;"
- include substantive skill training and this, too, can be planned in consort with the private sector and educators;
- will fit into an economic development scheme for the affected communities. Projects should be required to foster links with other public development efforts;
- take into account the potential impact of youth community improvement projects on unemployed adults. Projects might try to bring youths and adults together in a joint strategy for community development.

o The problems of youth in the labor market do not end with the acquisition of a job. Turnover on the job is high, especially among the poor and among minority groups. In many cases, this can be attributed to factors of on-the-job supervision. The quality of their supervision can be improved through the following means:

- specialized training programs which will orient company personel to the behaviors of adolescents, available support systems, and potential cultural differences;
- increased rewards, within the company, for supervisory 'success' with the disadvantaged;
- better long-term follow up by counselors and others making job placements.

Work Force Changes

o The number of entry-level jobs appear to be shrinking both absolutely and relatively. The overall number of such jobs is declining because of replacement through technology and through higher entry requirements.

- Nevertheless, the growing reliance of large employers on internal labor markets' means that disadvantaged youth are increasingly forced to rely upon the shrinking entry level jobs as a way to gain access to these firms. It also means that youth must learn to (further) moderate their job expectations and to be prepared for a long tenure prior to advancement. This is less of a problem with small employers, but the latter also have a more limited range of occupations open to their employees.

- Among the fixed costs of labor are those associated with requisite training. The concerns of large employers about stability and reliability dictate further adapations in their work force while still maintaining preemptive control over training. Small employers cannot adapt to increased fixed costs and are much more willing to rely on the public sector to provide pre-employment training.

- Yardsticks like a high school diploma are no longer as valuable as they once were in hiring. Employers are interested in attitude, maturity, and basic work experience.

- Employers are generally not as interested in prior skill training as in fundamental academic skills. Most employers would urge that the limited resources of public schools be used to provide sound fundamental skills and good work habits. If they can be assured of these, they are much more willing to invest in training for the people they hire. This holds even for many smaller employers for whom a general shop orientation would be sufficient if the youths also possessed other world of work skills.

Access to the Private Sector

- There is a clear distinction between large and small employers. This distinction colors all suggestions for new private sector initiatives and requires that these initiatives be tiered to reflect substantially different capacities to hire and retain youth employees. Small employers:

    - operate on very narrow profit margins, are always in the market for capital, and feel neglected by most Federal policies aimed at promoting ecomomic growth;

- lack the institutional structure of large firms, so that they can make hiring (and other) decisions more quickly but they also expect quick returns;
- are firmly rooted in their local communities and, therefore, have a smaller work force which make them more supportive environments for inexperienced, disadvantaged youth;
- need labor with a higher level of job-specific skills and experience than larger firms which are able to train in-house.

o However, combining these characteristics with the recent evidence suggesting that small businesses account for the lions share of new job creations, does require some sensitivity to policy implications:

- the mortality rate for small business is high and so, too, is the turnover in their management and goals;
- there are literally hundreds of thousands of small employers with a comparable variation in capital and labor needs;
- they do not have the management capacity to respond to the vast array of local and national programs;
- wage rates are generally lower and prospects for career planning more limited, especially as it may require further training;
- there is a special shortage of appropriate small employers in the distressed neighborhoods in many cities.

o The separate characteristics of large employers are also important to recognize:

- they express a stronger interest in impacting school systems, particularly in areas of staff training, curriculum, and accountability;
- they are more concerned with problems of retention and integration of youth into their work force;
- they are more likely to be unionized and to measure their activities in the light of multiple, national impacts;

  - their status as large institutions must be considered in terms of planning time, methods of decisionmaking, and type of personnel used in recruiting them to participate in public programs.

- Variations between large and small employers of course differ across industries. Equally as relevant are factors such as:
  - type of occupation/industry;
  - level of technological change and use of automation;
  - geographic location of the company;
  - the age of the company and its capital base;
  - the details of its expansion/contraction in recent years;
  - the types and extent of collective bargaining.

- In none of our roundtable sessions was minimum wage the major discussion topic. When it is an issue it is more of one for small rather than large businesses.

What Employers Might Do

- To improve hiring, employers can undertake either job creation/expansion or educational activities.

- Educational activities might include:
  - specific skills training, either at the place of work or in vocational-technical schools;
  - short-term work experience of a career exploratory type;
  - meetings with educators to discuss a range of vocational and educational issues;
  - assistance to educators in developing job-related basic curricula (career education) or specific trade curricula;
  - lectures, career days, and similar informational exercises;
  - work sampling for teachers and guidance counselors in which these education professionals would spend time on the inside experiencing a variety of occupations and work environments.

- Employers prefer to work with the schools because of:
  - their institutional longevity and permanency;
  - the perception that schools are a basic community institution which ought to serve all school children well.

What is needed

- There should be a recognition of the important differences between large and small employers, with a special notation of the great potential inherent in the latter.

- Employer needs and interests must be addressed to establish credibility. This means they should be asked about their needs and included in program planning.

- Employers want employees with good basic academic and work skills. If need be, they would choose these over specific classroom job training.

- Better communication on all levels is required between the public and private sector. This communication should not be limited to major councils or special events.

- Employers identify a major problem retaining disadvantaged employees. Policies and programs should take into account the differences between access in hiring and problems of retention.

- Much more needs to be learned about:

  a) differences between large and small employers,

  b) the effects of flexible incentives,

  c) the bases on which employers make decisions,

  d) supports required to maintain youths in jobs.

- Improve the CETA prime sponsor system:

  a) Improve the training and professional level of CETA staff; Provide better technical assistance to prime sponsors and program operators, either through Regional offices or through special purpose intermediaries; Create new mechanisms for the exchange of management and knowledge development information among local operators,

  b) Eliminate the fragmentation of titles and services through a consolidated local block grant; Give primes the authority to contract for two or three years at a time, but link this with clearer and more appropriate performance standards,

c) Create incentives for prime sponsors through which increased funds would follow from good performance; Do the same for youth; in other words, allow greater flexibility -- up and down -- with youth wages,

d) Reduce the disincentives for private sector involvement by (a) eliminating most of the paperwork and (b) arming local programs with more versatile inducements.

PRACTICAL ALTERNATIVES FOR EDUCATING THE POOR: EDUCATION REMEDIES FOR YOUTH UNEMPLOYMENT

Richard A. Graham
Youthwork, Inc.

After fifteen years of Federal programs and billions of dollars, the problems of minority youth education and employment appear to be worse than before. This has occurred at a time when there has been substantial progress of the very kind sought by many of these Federal programs. Teenagers are staying in school longer. The differences between years of schooling for black youth and white youth are almost wiped out and, for the teenage children of the poor, blacks may now be getting more schooling than whites.

But black teenagers don't seem to be getting more for their time nor for the money they are giving up by not working. The differences in academic achievement between black and white teenagers remain about what they were before the national programs for remedial and extended education beban 15 years ago.[1] If the quality of schooling is measured by how much is learned per year of attendance, the quality of schooling for black youths has dropped. Still there is a major national effort to get black youth to stay in school or return to it, this in spite of the studies that show that little is gained by returning to the kind of school from which they have dropped out.

The underlying problem appears to be a growing disparity in the overall education of black youth as compared to white and the recent increase in years of schooling has not been enough to overcome it. If the quality of education is judged by how well it prepares one for a full and useful life and, in the immediate, by how well it prepares one to go to work, then unless the growing disparities between employment for black youth and white can be attributed to other causes, the education of black youth has worsened.

The education of young people, according to James Coleman, consists in roughly equal parts of schooling, learning from peers and surroundings, and learning from family.[2] This was the conclusion he drew from the comprehensive study of American education he directed under the Civil Rights Act of 1964. A somewhat similar conclusion is reached by Herbert Parnes, the Director of the National Longitudinal Study of the backgrounds, education, and work histories of 10,000 youths who were 16 to 19 in 1967. In his judgement, "the clearest and most discouraging finding" from the study is that the surest way to eliminate the differences in the work histories of black and white youths would be to "eliminate the differences in the quality of home life."[3]

There is another alternative, that of alternative programs of schooling and work experience that not only provide better schooling but also do more to shape peer influence and to bolster the family or, in effect, to replace it.

During the past fifteen years, alternative forms of education have been developed which combine schooling, responsible work experience and a kind of school family. Together these provide a supportive community whose values are consistent with society at large and conducive to employment. They include residential schools such as the Job Corps and "membership schools" which combine small size and individual attention with group expectations and support.

Membership schools offer the greatest promise for improving the education of the poor. Membership schools include separately run special-purpose schools, schools-within-schools, career study centers, street academies, and pre-apprentice training programs. Their common features include the following costs. That is, participant selection, curriculum, administration and governance, personnel training, evaluation and the other components of a program appear to have been adequately designed.

The most important features of a membership school are:

(1) Membership: There is a sense of belonging or of membership that requires agreed upon levels of performance of several kinds. Membership is voluntary but conditional upon performance. If a person does not measure up to standards set by the group, that person is voted out, usually with the option to apply for readmittance. A sense of membership usually depends upon small size.

(2) Work Experience and Bridges to Society: There a bridge between membership in the school and membership in society. The connection comes from working for a variety of employers, from public service with a number of agencies, or through affiliation with a labor organization.

(3) Responsibility: There are opportunities to take on new responsibilities for oneself and others, responsibilities that are manageable and rewarding.

(4) Expectations and Choices: There are options for personal choice -- on what to learn and what to do -- but these come second to well-defined expectations for all, in levels of basic skills, in levels of participation and cooperation.

(5) Rewards: There is a system of individual and group reward for good performance.

(6) Good Standing: There is emphasis on achieving "standing" or reputation, a concept that goes beyond earning a credential. It gets more at the things of importance to employers; a work history, creditable references, evidence of accomplishment in an internship, pre-apprentice training or a work-related hobby.

(7) Individual Attention: There is emphasis on getting to know one's needs -- physical, emotional and intellectual -- and responding to them. Partly it is an emphasis on making adult friends; teachers, coaches, counselors, employers or fellow employees at a work site; adults who can serve as a mentor or model. Though this is often the most telling part of education, in most schools, it is left to chance.

Alternative Education For The Poor: The Three Features

The alternatives recommended here are in effect a second chance for youth who have reached their teens without a basic education. That is, they have neither the skills nor the self management needed for a reasonable chance of success -- at work or in society. This second chance departs from the usual sequence of learning. Instead of concurrently providing the foundations for a liberal education and for an occupation, the alternatives emphasize preparation for employment. They count on adult education to do the broadening later on.

These alternatives include the features that are associated with improving one's chances in the labor force.[4] They give greater emphasis to three features that appear to have particular importance in the education of the poor: membership schooling, work experience, and much greater opportunity for the critical incidents that affect one's life for the better.[5]

Ethos

Most of the education research in America has been unable to distinguish a good school from a bad school but a 1979 report on England's schools, Fifteen Thousand Hours, concludes that the nature of its ethos distinguishes a good school from a bad one.[6]

A school's ethos, the report noted, is influenced by the backgrounds of students but even when backgrounds are alike, some schools manage to create the ethos of a learning society while others do not. What's needed are the kinds of schools that provide a bridge between the ethos of street life and the ethos of mainstream life. A number of what could be called "membership schools" are doing just that. They provide a bolstering or a substitute for family support by means of what amounts to a "school family". They provide membership in a small society that serves as transition between membership in a family to membership in society at large. They recognize membership as the keystone to teenage motivation for success in the society at large. For, with few exception, teenage motivation is based on being liked by one's friends and is the percursor and complement to motivation that stems from mentors and models, from awakened interests, from a sense of how society works and a desire to make good in it. What seems indicated from descriptions of alternative programs of schooling and training[7] is that most distinguishing feature of a successful alternative school is the quality of membership it provides.

Real Life Experience

The underlying assumption of the Youth Employment and Demonstration Projects Act (now Title IV of the CETA Amendments of 1978) is that experience in a job leads to improved work attitudes and to greater employability and employment. The overall statistics bear this out.[8] But work experience doesn't necessarily create favorable attitudes towards work. Recent evidence makes clear that attitudes towards work depend in great part upon the nature of one's work experience and upon reflection about it.[9] Three separate ongoing studies are providing insights as to what features of work experience produce the kinds of learning that are looked for by teachers and by students themselves.[10] Taking on responsibility appears to be the key but the responsibility must be manageable and it must have an element of novelty -- it must entail responsibility of a new kind or of greater degree.[11]

Critical Incidents

Critical incidents probably account for much of the "luck and chance" that seems to have as much affect on what one makes of life as does education or training, IQ or family background, though each of these can make fortuitous incidents more likely to occur. Critical incidents are the events that, on looking back, can be seen to have changed the direction of one's life, incidents such as hooking up with a boss or teacher who takes particular interest in you or who has connections, being given new responsibilities, joining a new group, developing a new interest, finding a new faith.

A great handicap in the education of the poor is that they are deprived of the repeated opportunity that is afforded the well-to-do to forget past failures, to start over, to find new friends, to choose new surroundings, to be encouraged to find new interests, to make new work connections, to be protected from most of the consequences of their mistakes and through these, to develop a sense that they can prevail. Not so with the poor. Their out-of-school opportunity for new starts is usually far less; the consequences of their mistakes are usually far greater. Traditional schools seldom have the resources to make up for these differences. Membership schools --

through individual attention, group support, mentors and models at school and at work assignments, and more employment contacts -- greatly increase the opportunity for fortuitously critical incidents and substantially reduce the likelihood of ill effect from wrong turns.

The Extra Costs of Educating The Poor

The cost of residential and membership schools are greater than for regular schools. It costs more to provide equal education for the poor.

The extra costs include:

Subsidized Work: Pay for part-time work is a feature of many residential and membership schools although in residential schools most of the pay is in the form of room and board.

Community: There are costs in creating and maintaining membership. It takes time, talk, and special events to develop group cohesiveness. Some kind of retreat or other getting-to-know-you event is generally needed once a year -- sometimes more. Regular meetings of the school community are needed to resolve disputes and to carry out legislative, administrative and judicial proceedings not commonly a part of regular schools.[12]
To do this and keep with an academic curriculum that is comparable to a regular school takes overtime on the part of staff, at least some of which has to be paid for.

Services: Health or child care, transportation, placement in part-time work or on-the-job training, counseling that is based upon individual educational plans; all tend to add to the costs.

Training: Training of supervisors, counselors, teachers and staff in the special workings of a residential or membership school.

Assessment, Record Keeping, and Fund Raising: The costs are higher at present because of proposal writing for collaborative funding and because of reporting and accountability requirements that differ with various funding sources.[13]

Personnel: Turnover is usually higher because of greater demands. Costs are greater for personnel search, selection, orientation, and separation.

Crises: Family and personal crises occur more frequently and require the time of someone to help.

Transition: It usually costs more to help with the transition to a job or to further education. As noted in the Job Corps studies, there is a need not only for help with the breaking away from membership in the alternative school community but also with admittance to membership at the workplace or at another educational institution.

Experience has shown that residential schools cost $10,000 to $12,000 per participant year; the membership schools $2,500 to $7,000 per year as compared to $2,000 to $2,500 for most public high schools. But cost-benefit analyses indicate that the benefits of residential schools equal or slightly exceed their cost[14] and, by extension, the membership schools, because they appear to achieve comparable results at lower cost, are believed to produce higher benefit-cost ratios.[15]

Who Should Pay The Extra Costs Of Educating The Poor?

The extra costs of these alternatives cannot as a rule be covered from state or local sources; the Federal Government must pay most of them. The CETA system is, or can become, an effective way to provide the Federal funds which, when added to state and local funds for education, will cover the extra costs of educating the poor.

The law clearly provides the wherewithal for alternative education programs. Prime sponsors are mandated to:

- award academic credit, in accordance with state and local policies, for what is learned from experience, not for experience itself, (Sec. 445(a) and (b);
- make certain that what is learned through work experience -- and preparation for it -- is part of an individual educational plan that is developed by school authorities for each student, (Sec. 436(c)(4) and (6));
- use CETA funds as needed to compensate persons who, by school system standards, are competent to supervise programs of learning through work experience and preparation for it, (Sec. 436(c)(3); and
- use CETA funds, as necessary, to pay costs of subsidized employment and the other extraordinary costs of educating the poor. Use CETA funds for other youths to cover the selection of work experience and reflection upon it, along with certain other services.

CETA was given the principal responsibility for bringing about improvement in the education of poor youth because it provided a Federally controlled funding mechanism. It was thought in 1977 that the almost certain tension that would be created between the education establishment and the employment and training bureaucracies would have creative effect on both. Several studies have tried to determine whether the well-documented tension has been more than offset by new-found collaboration and whether the tension will continue to be creative enough to make this delivery system a permanent feature of Federal aid to local programs of education.[15]

The conclusion drawn from most of these studies is that collaboration between CETA and the schools has greatly increased and would be still more productive if CETA did not so clearly have the upper hand in forging the required agreements between CETA prime sponsors and the educational agencies. A more equal partnership is recommended but CETA, as it stands, not only provides local authorities with funds that are needed to develop educational alternatives for the poor but also the option to choose between ways to achieve them. The secondary schools can provide the alternatives that they are equipped to offer and want to carry out. Community colleges, community and other organizations, both public and private, can provide alternatives not otherwise practical for the schools. If, as a condition for receiving CETA funds, the state and local educational agencies cover their normal share of the costs of secondary education, the CETA share should be enough to cover the extraordinary costs of alternative education for the poor. If several local institutions can vie for the funds to carry out these alternatives, the schools may find the tension is both creative and desirable. The schools should however be less encumbered by CETA regulations, should receive more assistance -- mostly through state educational agencies -- in making good use of CETA resources. The schools and CETA acting together can provide much of the remedy for the inequitable disparities in youth employment, a remedy that is practical educationally, administratively and politically.

Alternative education programs combining education and work are potentialy the most fruitful area for cooperation between CETA and the education system. Such activities are also difficult to mount and to nurture. The easiest course is for education to mount traditional remedial programs in the schools, for CETA to focus on out-of-school youth, or for in-school work experience to be nothing more than job creation for students. Unless there are incentives for both education and CETA to cooperate in funding alternate education approaches, it is not likely to occur on a broad scale. Yet this is perhaps the most important area of cooperation.

Notes

1. The National Assessment of Educational Progress. The 1978 analysis of reading scores throughout America showed a reduction in disparities between the scores of nine and thirteen year old black children and their white counterparts. But this could be accounted for by the significant gains of black children just in the Southeast region of the United States. The gains in this region merely brought black children to the level of difference between black and white children that exist, and have existed, in the other regions. The reports on reduction in black-white disparities in mathematics for nine and thirteen year olds -- but not for seventeen year olds -- were noted in the press after this report was drafted.

2. James Coleman in an article in Integrated Education, circa 1959.

3. Herbert Parnes in a presentation made at the "Seminar on Youth and Work," sponsored by the National Council on Employment Policy, Washington, D.C., June 14, 1979.

4. See in particular, Regis Walther, Analysis and Synthesis of D.O.L Experience in Youth Transition to Work Programs. Walther concluded from his examination of 73 studies of manpower and training programs that "better labor market performance was associated with a warm supportive home atmosphere," was associated with having been accepted and gained recognition in school, with having found self esteem from occupational or educational achievement, with having admired someone with "mainstream" values, and with having had an enjoyable job in the course of the school years.

5. Christopher Jencks, et al in Inequality: A Reassessment of the Effect of Family and Schooling in America, found that a persons background and education could not adequately account for subsequent job status and income; luck and chance seemed to have comparable effect. In Who Gets Ahead? -- The Determinants of Economic Success in America, a later analysis by Jencks and Associates, luck and chance themselves seem closely associated with one's background. But the personal histories of persons who rise above humble beginnings and the records of outstanding schools suggest that the association between "luck and chance" and one's background is not inherent, only a function of the norms of American society. There hasn't been a study to prove it but a lot of evidence to suggest that alternative forms of education can do more to contrive, for persons of less fortunate backgrounds, the incidents that, on looking back, seem to have brought great luck and chance.

6. Michael Rutter, et al, Fifteen Thousand Hours: Secondary Schools and Their Effects on Children, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1979.

7. See in particular Edwin Fenton, A Report on the Civic Education Schools, the Education Center, Carnegie Mellon University, 1978; Elsa Wasserman, unpublished dissertation, The Harvard Graduate School of Education, 1977; and Fantini's Alternative Education.

8. Adele Harrell and Phelip Wirtz, Educational Antecedents to Youth Employment, Social Research Group, The George Washington University, Washington, D.C., 1979.

9. Ellen Greenberger and Larry Steinberg, University of California, Irvine, in a progress report made to the National Institute of Education in April, 1979. A report on this study of work experience and attitudes will be published later in 1979.

10. Diane Hedin and Dan Conrad, Student Perceptions of Psychological, Social and Cognitive Growth, Center for Youth Development and Research, University of Minnesota, St. Paul, April, 1979.

Harry Silberman and Sally Hamlin, A Social Learning Interpretation of Community Learning Activities, Center for the Study of Evaluation, UC.A, April 1979.

Thomas R. Owens and Sharon Owen, Investigating Student Perceptions of Essential Elements of Experiential Education, The Northwest Regional Laboratory, Portland, Oregon, 1979.

11. Richard Graham, Youth and Experiential Learning in Youth: The Seventy Fourth Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education, University of Chicago Press, 1975.

12. See especially, Elsa Wasserman. Also, Allan Glatthorn, "Decision Making in Alternative Schools", in Fantini, p. 215.

13. Jack Wuest, Alternative School Network Administrative Costs for Youth Operated Projects, an unpublished report to Youthwork, Inc., Sept., 1979.

14. Robert Taggart, The Assessment of Job Corps Performance and Impacts, The Office of Youth Programs, U.S. Department of Labor, 1979.

15. No cost-benefit studies, comparable to the Job Corps analyses reviewed by Taggart, have been found. The cost of alternative schools, as reported in "Financing Alternative Schools", Section VI of Alternative Education: A Sourcebook for Parents, Teachers and Administrators, Mario D. Fantini, Editor, generally does not include the value of facilities in "unoccupied classrooms" nor items for which special funds are raised. It seldom includes costs of fund raising; sometimes omits the cost of services provided under Federal programs. But analyses of the budget of exemplary in-school

programs funded by Youthwork, Inc., in 1978-1979 permit an estimate of average costs and the records of schools such as the Career Study Center in St. Paul suggest that benefits are comparable to those of a Job Corps Center. Rigorous cost-benefit studies of several membership school designs are needed.

BASIC EDUCATION

by

Barbara L. Jackson

Historical and Contemporary Social Context

> Life is more than living--that necessary as it is to earn a living, it is more necessary and important to earn a life; that is, to do for the world--its thought, its aspiration, its human value--so much that the world will not always continue to ask if life is worth living.

In 1954, the Supreme Court ushered in a new era in race relations. With the Brown v. the Board of Education case, separate but equal was no longer the law of the land. From one point of view--those who see significant events in the long view of history--the period since that landmark decision has been short when contrasted with the 300 years of black life in America, 200 of those under slavery and another hundred in legally sanctioned segregation. Moreover, 25 years is a very short time to undo what had been ingrained in the American culture for close to eight generations. Given this time perspective, most would agree that progress has been phenomenal in race relations, most notably in the South.

But let us look at those 25 years from the perspective of the youth. Those who were born in 1954 are now beginning to assume leadership roles; they have completed the period of "youth" and are assuming their adult roles. An 18-year-old today, who may have completed high school this year, was born in 1961 and was probably in the first or second grade in 1968, the year Martin Luther King was killed; and in 1974, the year of Watergate, was a budding adolescent in junior high school. Today's 15-year-old, who is starting secondary school, was only four in 1968 and ten in 1974. While for some of us 25 years may seem a small part of our total life or human history, for a child it can be a lifetime.

There were massive changes in society in these 25 years--some that began earlier but became a part of our way of life during the years the present generation was growing up. The most obvious is television; this generation knows no life without TV. We are still in the process of evaluating what difference this phenomenal invention has had, especially on learning styles. While one obvious difference has been noted many times--i.e., that reading just for the sake of enjoyment has diminished--other implications have not received as much attention. For example, the powers of imagination and creativity seem to have lessened because the small child has everything in a picture before him; the powers of attention and concentration may be affected, due in part to the disjointed scheduling of television. Everything is in half-hour or, at most, hour segments interrupted periodically by a commercial so that one is not required to concentrate for very long periods of time. On the plus side, young people today have seen most of the world through this marvelous medium, even the other side of the moon. Even so, some of the magic that came from going to the circus the one time it came to town is gone when it appears on television many times.

Other miracles of technology that reached fruition during this period are the computer, transistor radio, atomic weapons, the 747s and DC-10s, solar energy, and the Pill. This last item may have more impact than any of the others, for its perfection coincided with the changing role of women.

At least two major events occured during these growing-up years of the youth of 1979 that profoundly affected their view of the world and the country: Vietnam and the shift in strategies of the Civil Rights movement from the courts to the streets, with sit-ins, the March on Washington, nonviolence that provoked violence, and all seen on television. The moral climate to right the wrongs of the past produced a consensus among the three branches of government, leading to legislation that benefitted not only black Americans but all groups that had been excluded. In few periods of history has there been such unanimity in spirit and law that attempted to make real the promises of America.

But there was also Watergate, an increase in divorce, widespread use of drugs, vandalism in the schools as never before. There were dilemmas in this progress that affect us today in very visible ways--the DC-10, long gas lines, Three Mile Island, and falling Sky Lab, to cite just the most recent of the almost uncontrollable consequences of our technological progress. Finally, the influence of the family seemed to diminish, and at the same time, there was a longing for a sense of community, of belonging, that appeared to have gotten lost in the pursuit of material wealth.

For the young people themselves, there were significant changes. It is difficult to separate the origins; some were a response to the changing environmental conditions, some apparently from their inherent growth patterns. We do know that young people mature at an earlier age than a generation ago. This means that the biological changes associated with puberty, when the sex role assumes its most compelling power, occur at an earlier chronological age. The youth culture of the sixties and seventies was a mixture; on the one hand, there was more attention to the rights and responsibilities of students in high schools as well as colleges; on the other hand, the time required to stay in school was prolonged, denying in many ways the outlets that would provide ways to learn more adult roles. There appeared to be a change in the belief in the Puritan work ethic that has dominated American society since its founding as the only desirable goal in life. Personal fulfillment here and now, with work providing more intrinsic rewards, emerged as a dominant factor. Many of the older generation concurred in being dissatisfied with their work experience. It is as though they had heard DuBois, "necessary as it is to earn a living, it is more necessary and important to earn a life."

This same period saw the climax of the trend that began at the turn of the century--the extension of schooling to more youth for a longer time. As a result, 90 percent of the youth today continue into secondary school with at least 75 percent finishing. School is now a way of life, not only for young children, but almost everyone between the ages of 14 and 17. A major reason for this change is the elimination of most unskilled jobs, so there is very little else for them to do. In addition, more and more jobs do require advanced training. With our technologically advanced society, functional literacy has become an absolute essential for every person.

With compulsory school laws and the value now given to completion of high school, a much more heterogeneous population is now being served. Public schools, as agencies of the society, are charged with responsibility to educate all the children--a circumstance that was not true even a generation ago, when schools could be more selective.

Purpose and Function of Schools

When this country was founded, the responsibility for education was left to the states rather than delegated to the national government. Despite our desire to believe that schools were established in order to develop and to promote the individual's potential, a careful reading of the state constitutions makes it clear that schools were established to preserve the society. In other words, the schools were to be responsible for preparing the next generation to assume responsibility for maintaining the society. Transmission of the culture was a major part of that charge.

According to Wise, in Rich Schools, Poor Schools, "historically the states have stressed that education is primarily a benefit to the state--a way of promoting general welfare. This view constrasts sharply with the United States Supreme Court opinions which discuss education from the point of view of the welfare of the individual."(3) This view has been given more support through decisions of state courts. This example, from New Hampshire, is one of the clearest statements:

> The primary purpose of the maintenance of the common school system is the promotion of the general intelligence of the people constituting the body politic and thereby to increase the usefulness and efficiency of the citizens, upon which the government of society depends. Free schooling furnished by the state is not so much a right granted to the pupils as a duty imposed upon them for the public good. If they do not voluntarily attend the schools provided for them, they may be compelled to do so... While most people regard the public schools as the means of great personal advantage for the pupil, the fact is too often overlooked that they are governmental means of protecting the state from the consequences of an ignorant and incompetent citizenship. (4)

While these statements seem clear and unequivocal in setting forth the major purposes of a public school system, attention was still given to the needs and interests of the individual pupil. The dilemma was created, however, because of the philosophical base of America that was rooted in the individual rights of man, in the process of transmitting the culture that emphasized maintaining the status quo, questioning and inquiry into that very culture was also being taught. This tension remains.

In addition to the function of schools as a means to transmit the culture and preserve the society as well as to develop the individual and to prepare for adult life, the critics have reminded us of other less noble purposes rarely advertised.

The schools also serve a stratification function designed to maintain the social structure despite the lofty goal of equality of opportunity. Since the sixties, when the very institution of public schools came under attack through the courts and the streets, there has been some shift toward a more egalitarian socialization process.

Another function that is only recently being recognized as a reason for the existence of a school system is as a place of employment. Schools do provide jobs for millions of people, and this fact itself provides a major opportunity for upward mobility. At times, however, this objective may take precedence over the needs of the students or even those of the society to prepare literate citizens.

Secondary Schools and Their Purposes

One would assume that basic education, if defined as those fundamental processes or rudimentary skills of speaking, listening, reading, writing, and arithmetic, would have been mastered prior to entering secondary, or high schools. Judah Schwartz of M.I.T. aptly described these skills as "vehicle" subjects, in contrast to the "tapestry" subjects. He separated, as more of us should, the symbol systems through which and by which we are empowered to master the tapestry, or content, subjects. Too often we have seen these symbol systems as an end in themselves, which may be part of the problem in developing appropriate strategies for overcoming difficulties in mastering such processes as reading.

The evidence, however, is not only disturbing but frightening: a large percentage of young people are entering high school--and even completing 12 years of formal schooling--without complete mastery of these basic and essential vehicle subjects. Educators must assume the responsibility for helping young people to overcome whatever deficits in learning have occurred at an earlier age. We can no longer have the luxury of blaming the victim or his/her family. We already know enough about how to teach; what we lack is the commitment and will to teach all the children. The school must adjust to teach what and how the child is prepared to learn, rather than continue to put the burden on the child to learn what and how we are comfortable in teaching. There are some effective schools at all levels that have been successful in helping children who come from all backgrounds to master basic skills as well as to prepare for careers in the complex world.

Beginning as far back as 1893 with the Committee of Ten, the secondary schools have come under scrutiny as to their particular mission. About five years ago, there was a flurry of activity that produced at least nine different studies (5) on the role and function of the secondary school; many had different, and at times conflicting, recommendations. There was a marked contrast between these studies and those of James B. Conant (6) in the sixties that had been accepted as the proper definition of the high school.

A major difference in the reform studies of the seventies was not only a recognition of but an advocacy for diversity and pluralism as a part of the high school. There appeared to be less acceptance that the comprehensive high school of Conant's day was the one best model even for the smaller communities, much less the large urban high school, where the majority of youth--especially those who seem the most ill prepared--attend. The isolation of the school from the rest of the community, particularly the work places, was highlighted in most of the studies, which offered a wide range of recommendations for overcoming this deficit in the preparation for adulthood. This view was combined with a consensus that the age segregation of the schools, where youth are separated from a variety of adult models as well as from younger children, was another cause of poor preparation. Finally, there was agreement that a variety of alternatives to the traditional high school setting should be established. Some would provide a total work experience, but connected in some fashion to the high school.

What is surprising, however, is that many studies still paid little attention to what at least one commentator, Barbara Powell (7), has suggested as a cause of poor learning: the Carnegie Unit, or the subject orientation, or the concurrent time schedule, that still dominates most high schools. As Powell reminds us, "the 45 or 55 minute period with all subjects taught each day is still the most commonly used schedule. Even the suggestions made that emphasize learning in the community try to translate those experiences into these terms." It appeared that most of these reforms were tinkering rather than addressing a more fundamental change in the organization of the secondary schools or revising the curriculum along such lines as suggested by Cawelti (8) in his critique of these various reform committees and commissions. The accepted model still seems to be Conant's American Comprehensive High School as the core and ideal, with add-ons rather than a change in the institution itself.

What is striking about these reform studies is the similarity in purpose, if not in implementation, with the Seven Cardinal Principles (9) set forth as a guide for secondary schools in 1918. These still have relevancy for basic education for the 1980's.

1. Health. Health needs cannot be neglected during the period of secondary education without serious danger to the individual and the race. The secondary school should therefore provide health instruction, inculcate health habits, organize an effective program of physical activities, regard health needs in planning work and play, and cooperate with home and community in safeguarding and promoting health interests....

2. Command of fundamental processes. Much of the energy of the elementary school is properly devoted to teaching certain fundamental processes, such as reading, writing, arithmetical computations, and the elements of oral and written expression. The facility that a child of 12 or 14 may acquire in the use of these tools is not sufficient for the needs of modern life. This is particularly true of the mother tongue....

3. Worthy home membership. Worthy home membership as an objective calls for the development of those qualities that make the individual a worthy member of a family, both contributing to and deriving benefit from that membership.... The coeducational school with a faculty of men and women should, in its organization and its activities, exemplify wholesome relations between boys and girls and men and women....

4. Vocation. Vocational education should equip the individual to secure a livelihood for himself and those dependent on him, to serve society well through his vocation, to maintain the right relationships toward his fellow workers and society, and, as far as possible, to find in that vocation his own best development....

5. Civic education. Civic education should develop in the individual those qualities whereby he will act well his part as a member of neighborhood, town or city, State, and Nation, and give him a basis for understanding international problems....

6. Worthy use of leisure. Education should equip the individual to secure from his leisure the recreation of body, mind, and spirit, and the enrichment and enlargement of his personality....

7. Ethical character. In a democratic society ethical character becomes paramount among the objectives of the secondary school. Among the means for developing ethical character may be mentioned the wise selection of content and methods of instruction in all subjects of study, the social contacts of pupils with one another and with their teachers, the opportunities afforded by the organization and administration of the school for the development on the part of pupils of the sense of personal responsibility and initiative, and, above all, the spirit of service and the principles of true democracy which should permeate the entire school--principal, teachers and pupils....

Illustrations of New Approaches

The examples that follow do not all have improvement of basic education or the vehicle subjects as their primary objective. Yet, since all do seem to be designed to develop a sense of responsibility or enhance self-esteem through activities that require active participation on the part of youth, one important dimension of that basic education is involved. With some imagination, the learning experiences away from the school can incorporate all the facets of basic skills in a much more meaningful and relevant manner than sitting in a remedial reading class where the aura of failure so often permeates the atmosphere. To include this dimension would require that teachers approach the program with an attitude that shows respect, and an expectation of achievement, in youth who might not at the moment display those learnings often assumed of the secondary school student.

1. Street Academies. Begun in the mid-sixties in an effort to reclaim young people in Harlem who had dropped out or been pushed out of the system, the street academy has become known through the country as a place where young people can learn to cope with society. Identified primarily with the Urban League as sponsor, many have had to close due to financial difficulties. The ones continuing are those that were able to develop a financial relationship with the public school system in their community. Now they are faced with a different problem:

how to retain some of the essential characteristics of a street academy. They struggle, as do most alternatives, with problems of definition: alternatives to what and for what? Furthermore, to survive, street academies must try to adapt to the very system that has not served their clientele well.

In June 1972, the National Urban League received a grant from the Experimental Schools Program (then a part of the National Institute of Education) for a five-year experiment with street academies. Three new academies were established under the auspices of local urban leagues in Oakland, California; South Bend, Indiana; and Washington, D.C. Another part of the grant was awarded to the Research Department of the National Urban League for the evaluation of those three academies, with the added objectives of defining the essential characteristics and monitoring the transition of the academies to the public school system at the conclusion of the Federal grant. From the beginning there was a direct tie to the local public school through a liaison officer plus a financial commitment on a sliding scale. These alternatives were also to be operated at a cost similar to that of the school system. The purpose of the experimental schools program in all their projects was to demonstrate to a local school system how an alternative can serve the needs and interests of certain youth whom that system has not served or cannot serve well.

What is significant for those who are looking for effective ways to deal with basic education for secondary school youth is the program philosophy and view of the young people for whom the street academy was created. The final report of the Urban League project in July 1977 states the reasons for the creation of a street academy: to reclaim and to retrieve high school-age young people who have not been well served by the public school systems, whether or not they have completely dropped out of the system. This orientation assumes "that minority and low income students are educable--can be retrieved, and can be assisted by education programs. The concept refers to students, however, labeled--underachievers, dropouts or unduly hassled/pushed out of public schools. They can be assisted to acquire those coping abilities and knowledge required to successfully live as productive citizens in society."(10)

Fundamental to these three newly created academies, and to those that followed them, was a curriculum that emphasized the basic skills. Each academy approached the curriculum in different ways, and all have enjoyed some measure of success in accomplishing that goal. But their purpose went beyond mere acquisition of skills, important as that was. What was more important to the street academy was to demonstrate the capability and potential of the young people who attend. As described by Vernon Moore in that final report:

> Educability refers to education in the widest sense. Students can be taught values and appropriate modes of behavior. They can acquire skills and perform adequately in reading, writing and arithmetic. They can be provided services and environments that facilitate their development...
>
> Students are seen as retrievable in that their rejection of "schooling," based on previous experiences, is not assumed to be a rejection of "education" in this wide sense...
>
> The outcomes of education in this sense are the acquisition of coping ability and the knowledge required for productive citizenship. The concept seeks to broaden student abilities to contend successfully and on equal terms for psychological growth, economic survival, social satisfaction, and political efficacy. The focus of the concept is upon the transmission of knowledge for personal growth and the achievement of individual objectives, but in a manner also oriented to the achievement of minority group goals. Knowledge of one's self, the environment, society, and the world are primary objects of learning. Given sufficient integration, in the classical and sociological sense, of the individual and the group and society, this knowledge should benefit society and create productive citizens in that society.(11)

Nevertheless, since the street academics also were called upon by the terms of the grant to demonstrate that they could achieve some of the same objectives as the public schools, especially in relation to basic skills, a variety of testing measures were used. The final report provides this summary of the results:

> Our findings indicate that growth occurred in certain areas for Street Academy students as a group. Statistically significant advances were made in total reading and total mathematics. There was growth in the academic status of the students. In the area of attitudes, we found that there was some growth that was indicative of increased self-esteem and efficacy. Students became less dependent on external approval of their attitudes and behaviors. They became more oriented to collective action and to organizing for making demands for rights that would affect their lives. These changes were consistent with Street Academy objectives.(12)

Similar evidence comes from the other street academies. For example, the Bedford Stuyvesant Academy, now part of Boys and Girls High School in Brooklyn (the last of the original New York Urban League-sponsored academies that still operates, though now under the auspices of the New York City public schools), has had more success in the affective than the cognitive realm. Which brings us back to the fundamental question--education for what?

Vernon Moore, of the National Urban League Project, was clear in his assessment of the relation of schooling and the broader purpose of education:

> Reorganization, as informed by the Street Academy experience, requires a wider definition of education and its purposes. The Street Academy conception of education entails supplying students with tools to live as productive citizens. This means reading, writing, and arithmetic. But it also means that inculcation of values, attitudes, and the necessary behaviors to cope with and change those conditions that make productive citizenship improbable or impossible. This calls for rethinking why we are schooling students. Is there any relationship between schooling and educating them? What are we educating them for?(13)

The other aspect of street academies that provides direction for ways in which other institutions--particularly the very large urban public high schools--can change is related to the climate created for learning, including the staff. This may be the most significant factor in whatever successes street academies or alternatives with similar characteristics have had.

> The importance of...curriculum additions and climate alteration should not be underestimated. Many studies have shown that academic performance is as much affected by climate as by I.Q., socio-economic status and other traditionally recognized factors. For example, it is clear that the reduction of fear of failure by emphasis on effort exerted rather than strict emphasis on raw scores, increases both the qualitative and quantitative performance of students who have been conditioned to fear failure. It is equally true that there is a relationship between self-esteem and performance, and self-esteem and social context such that a cooperative and consonant social environment makes people feel better about themselves and results in better performance. This would be particularly true of persons who were previously looked down on in regular institutions as dumb, troublemakers, etc.(14)

One other salient feature of the street academy that may also have implications for other reforms is the governance structure: they all had some form of a community council where all the participating parties were involved in decisionmaking. Most of the Experimental School projects and many other Federal projects were predicated on the assumption that neither the professional educators nor the school boards--appointed or elected--adequately represented all the interests of the community. The expanded participation clearly demonstrated that the established system, given the additional funding and some prodding from a third party--in this instance, the Federal Government--can work in partnership with new groups; that schools will not be destroyed when the decisionmaking process is opened to new participants. In fact, there was some evidence that satisfaction with the schools increased with the change in governance. The old adage that people respond more positively when included in those decisions that affect their lives received additional support.

The major limitation of street academies and many other alternatives is that they directly reach so few youth. The three Urban League street academies reached no more than several hundred young people. This suggests that there must be some relation with the public schools to show how the strategies can be adapted. Small size is one of the essential characteristics so that a more intimate relationship can be developed between student and teacher. Public schools, especially the typical 2000 plus urban high school, may not be able to replicate this all-important factor. But the philosophy of the street academy can be duplicated. Finally, there remains the very real problem of finances: if public funds are accepted, will the Street Academy be compromised?

2. Action Learning. Another example of how school systems are attempting to respond to the needs of the society to prepare young people for the work world are projects that fall under the general heading of "action learning." These various programs grew out of practices long associated with vocational education, where students were provided an opportunity to acquire and apply knowledge in practical situations or through some type of active participation. Experienced-based education has received attention in at least three of the recent reports on youth and secondary schools.

One definition of action learning that includes a vocational occupational curriculum, experience-based academic programs, and various volunteer and career education opportunities appeared in NASSP Bulletin: "planned activities organized through a school that provides a chance to learn by doing."(15) The benefits that can be derived from this approach were developed by NASSP in the 1974 Wingspread Conferences.

a. They provide learning experiences that youth otherwise would miss; service to others; responsibility for others; interaction with various age groups, gaining competencies for work, and becoming involved with the working world of adults.

b. They provide some assurance to youth that adulthood is coming closer. In response, youth attitudes and actions mature.

c. They broaden an understanding of the real world.

d. They help provide elements important to the conditions for learning, i.e., motivation, experience, transfer of training, association and verification.(16)

While still involving only a small fraction of all of the high school students, it is significant that, of the largest school districts of the Council of the Great City Schools that responded to the questionnaire of the Urban Studies Education under the direction of Dr. Francis Chase, 29 reported 103 different programs under this label. They covered a wide range of activities, all with about two-thirds on-the-job learning in industry and business, the balance voluntary or community-related activities.

One of the projects (described in detail in From Youth to Constructive Adult Life, of the 1978 series of the National Society for the Study of Education) (17), is located in Minneapolis and has received additional funding from the Danforth Foundation. During the first two years, the Minneapolis project is designed to involve seven junior and senior high schools, with special emphasis on the two pilot schools, Southwest Secondary School and Central High School.

> What may make this Action Learning project somewhat different than many is that it is seen "as an initial step toward redesigning the secondary curriculum of a major city's public school system in an attempt to increase student involvement in the life of the community. The ultimate goal was to provide opportunities for all secondary students in Minneapolis to participate and interact with persons of different age and backgrounds, and with different life styles; to explore larger sections of economic, political, and social life; to engage in responsible work and volunteer activities; to have more active and practical learning; and to make worthwhile contributions to their communities. In Project ACT, action learning is defined as learning through a combination of direct experience in the life of the community and association, institution, or reflection.(18)

As the authors outline their expectations of Project ACT:

> If action-learning programs do nothing more than fulfill the young person's need to be, and be recognized as a contributing member of society, that would justify their place in the schools. Yet we dare hope for even more, that the skills and habits learned in community involvement programs will carry over into their adult years.(19)

Beyond these benefits that may accrue to the individual's personal and psychological development and to the resolution of some community problems, the Minneapolis project also hoped to enhance academic development through careful reflection on the work or volunteer experiences:

> The action learning course or program combines the strongest features of previously examined models into a course that is integral to the school's academic programs. The community experience forms the heart and is the central focus of the course, but it is combined with continuing classroom experience with emphasis on providing information, skills, and generalizing principles that directly assist students in interpreting their experiences and help them operate more successfully in their placements.(20)

Evaluation is still to come, since the program has only been in existence a short time. Many other school systems are experimenting with this approach that does offer promise for answering several of the needs described by the various studies.

3. Youth Participation. While these projects appear new, they stem from a rich heritage of youth-participation programs advocated over the years, especially by the National Commission for Resources of Youth, headed by Mary Kohler.

> This commission was established as a means of helping young people in the difficult transition from adolescence to constructive adult life. Part of its effort has consisted of finding, promoting and giving assistance to programs that enable young people to participate in productive activities and to assume real responsibility for what they do. Another part of its effort is to help describe and define youth participation programs.

> Youth participation can thus be defined as involving youth in responsible, challenging action that meets genuine needs, with opportunity for planning and/or decisionmaking affecting others, in an activity whose impact or consequences extends to others--i.e., outside or beyond the youth participants themselves.(21)

Other programs that look for ways to involve youth in decisionmaking and control of their own learning are the youth-initiated projects sponsored by the Youth Advocacy loop of the Teacher Corps. As stated at a recent conference sponsored by the University of Vermont, the purpose of these particular projects is to emphasize

> ...educational training for essential life skill competencies. In other words, it is an educational intervention designed to have long-term effects on the students' ability to handle future problems. Our focus can be contrasted with a more traditional approach that emphasizes services provided by others to alleviate the youths' immediate problems. This traditional form of advocacy has limited impact on the youths' coping skills and limited implications for handling future problems. The Youth Advocacy projects of Teacher Corps are aimed at developing personal independence and a youth's increasing ability to cope, while traditional approaches aim at alleviating immediate problems and tend to increase dependence upon the external service provider.(22)

In the Youth Advocacy programs, as in the street academies described earlier, the role of the adults is critical to achieving the objectives for the youth involved. Basic education cannot be viewed as an end in itself; it is the means toward the development of whole people who have confidence in their own abilities. Through interaction with adults as role models, as facilitators, as significant others, youth can start off on the road to adulthood.

> From an experiential point of view, the key role adults play in this endeavor is becoming increasingly apparent. If the adults basically trust themselves and young people, and if they have confidence in their own competence, and if they allow students to experiment and develop skills, and if they themselves know how to guide this process without dominating, and if they can handle ambiguity and failure and help kids do the same, while envisioning new roles for themselves in a growing, changing reciprocol interchange with the young--then the process will flourish and students will initiate, change, and grow. If, on the other hand, adults thwart initiation and see no new roles for youth in sharing, expressing, and being--then many will remain or become discouraged and frustrated, so that the process and perhaps our hopes will die.(23)

Education must help the next generation to develop their ability to cope with whatever their world will be. For its part in this educational mission, formal schooling should ensure that youth have mastered the fundamental processes and are prepared to become contributing members of their families and society. Essential to achieving that goal is the development of the ethical character so well described back in 1918. Then they might well achieve that ideal, described by DuBois:

> ...to do so much for the world...that the world will not always continue to ask if life is worth living.

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TRAINING AND MOTIVATION

by

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"Training," encompasses maturation in general, socialization to work and the workplace, basic education and, finally, occupationally-related skills. In real life, among real people, these aspects are interdependent; successful work experience depends on their coexistence. There is a high correlation between skill level and general educational development. Skill training rests on a firm basis of literacy. The accepted take-off point for learning both academic and applied knowledge is a sixth-grade reading level. There are plenty of jobs in the economy that are unskilled, but even those with exceedingly short training periods, often require this basic level of reading ability. If we are talking about higher-level skills, then the ability to read, and of course to figure, is essential.

Training Patterns

Apart from this prerequisite--which is always the hardest one to meet--program operators are usually confronted with a good deal of conflicting advice about skill training. The most typical occurs in conversations purporting to convey the wishes of employers, some of whom scorn the untrained and others of whom insist that, given an appropriate labor supply, they will do their own training. Obviously, both are true, but usually not for the same jobs. The patterns of entry and skill acquisition are complex, and they vary considerably by occupation.

Pre-employment Training. Considering just the time required for skill acquisition--that is, leaving aside the level of literacy prerequisite to getting either the job or the training or both--about one-quarter of all jobs have well established pre-employment training requirements where there is a clear transition from school (or training program) to work. These jobs are, in turn, divided between, on the one hand, professional occupations requiring two or more years of preparation in colleges, graduate, or professional schools and, on the other hand, a mix of technical, clerical, and service occupations that require from three months to two years of pre-employment training. Among the latter, the most familiar are nonprofessional health specialties and, the single most numerous category, office clericals. The classic case is typing, which is always learned in a classroom setting, but unfortunately, there are not very many skills where the training and entry pattern is so straight-forward.

On-the-Job Training. In fact, over 60 percent of all jobs do not routinely require pre-employment training. Among these are occupations, like the better jobs in the insurance industry, where recruiting takes place among liberal arts college graduates, who then learn the necessary job-related skills after they are hired. At the other end are low-skill clerical, sales, blue-collar, and service occupations learned entirely on the job in less than three months. This latter group alone accounts for about 37 percent of all jobs in the United States. A great deal of work--in manufacturing of all types, in the sale of soft goods, in restaurants, and in nonoffice clerical jobs like telephone operator--falls into this category.

Mixes. In between, but still most typically learned on the job, are a number of skilled and semi-skilled occupations, ranging in complexity from air-traffic controllers to auto mechanics. For some of these, the pathways are unique (as in the case of air-traffic controllers), but in others they are harder to discern, partly because a title like "auto mechanic" actually covers several different jobs, partly because of the competing claims of training institutions, and partly because linkages between these institutions and employers vary from place to place, sometimes even in the same locality.

A program operator interested in moving some portion of his or her clientele into a field like auto mechanics needs a good deal of local knowledge about how gas stations, garages, auto body shops, and automobile dealerships recruit and train their personnel. At the highest skill level, auto dealers may send people to schools maintained by the auto manufacturing companies. In some places, one or more proprietary schools may have worked out a relationship with area employers who find the school's screening and training practice acceptable. In others, public vocational schools--increasingly on the post-secondary level--may be the major source of supply. Meanwhile, small employers, like gas station operators, may recruit only from among untrained family members and their friends.

The most general statement one can make is that, given a local labor market, employers will hire the most experienced people available, and only then will they seek out partially trained or altogether untrained entry workers. As a corollary, people become auto mechanics, not in one neat training experience, but over a number of years.

Program Responses

A CETA-type program has to take account of such hazards. The major prerequisite for success is to provide certain linkages with prospective employers, and this is easier to say than to do.

Take, for example, a well-regarded program in an eastern city carried out by a community-based organization with cooperation from a foreign-based automobile manufacturer. The program is well-regarded locally because it seems to have all the elements for success. It turns out, however, that the training period is relatively short so that the skills acquired by trainees are equivalent to what many youngsters pick up in their back yards. If the people who complete the program think that they will move immediately into full-fledged jobs, they are doomed to disappointment. Since followup data are not available, the verdict on this program is "not proven," but it would be surprising if the cooperating company actually absorbs the "products."

The TAT Model. In contrast, we have what is generally regarded as an exemplary program, "Training and Technology" (TAT), operated by the Oak Ridge Associated Universities in eastern Tennessee. TAT is a pre-employment training program located in a government-owned nuclear plant that is operated by Union Carbide. It is akin to company-based vestibule training, except that the training period is longer than customary (six months), and the trainees are placed not only with Union Carbide but also with other firms.

TAT owes its existence in the first instance to the support of Glenn Seaborg, who was head of the Atomic Energy Commission and thus had the leverage to convince the middle managers of a Federal contractor of the program's feasibility. The effort was substantially aided by the contribution of start-ups costs from the U.S. Department of Labor.

TAT is not a youth program per se. Trainees are carefully selected from a pool of applicants that averages about ten for each place in the program. The most important entrance requirement is a minimum sixth-grade reading level. While initially the target group was the "disadvantaged," since 1974 it has been the unemployed and the underemployed, including high school graduates in low-skilled, dead-end jobs.

TAT maintains close contact with major employers in the Southeastern region and tailors its course offerings to their specifications. The occupations for which training has been carried on since the beginning of the program in 1966 are metal-machining, welding, physical testing, and mechanical operations (which include some aspects of sheet-metal layout, pipefitting, and millwrighting). Other courses are added to or subtracted from this core list. Drafting is now in the program; industrial electricity, glassblowing, chemical technology, machine-shop inspection, and electronics were phased out as demand for these skills dropped. The list of occupations includes those, like welding or drafting, that are usually taught in pre-employment classes, as well as those, like metal-machining, that are more likely to be acquired on the job.

The unique feature of TAT is the factory setting. Trainees are treated like employees, subject to plant rules and discipline. They spend 40 hours a week in training, about three-quarters in "hands-on" use of production equipment, and about one-quarter devoted to related instruction in math, science, and blueprint reading. Their performance of shop tasks is judged by industrial standards.

When the program began, the training time was one year. Later it was reduced to six months, possibly because stricter criteria for selection were introduced. It is hard to compare every course with a standard measure, but the length of the training period seems generally higher than in customary industry practice. Since the purpose of the program is to train workers who would otherwise not be eligible for employment in these occupations, the additional time may be viewed as a necessary condition of success.

In 11 years, TAT has produced 3,000 graduates. While the program demonstrates what can be done with a selected population under optimum circumstances in a stretched-out curriculum and at relatively high costs, the unusual conditions for its success help to explain the difficulties in persuading employers to lower selection criteria for the purpose of tapping a different pool of workers than is customarily available.

It is not easy to put together a package of this type, and there is not much hope of making a mass impact with this kind of program. What is somewhat more feasible is for programs to act as intermediaries in placement that promises on-the-job training. Here the presumption is that the clientele of youth programs are not in a position to compete with the majority of entry workers who find such jobs on their own. Actually, of course, good jobs are not typically found on one's own; they are found with the information and access provided by family, friends, and friends of family. The higher the pay for a low-skilled job requiring few credentials, the more likely it is to go to a person with inside information.

The current stress on occupational information is nothing more than an attempt to supply youngsters in weak networks some of the help that is routinely available to those who are more fortunately situated. Given the enormous competition for jobs and the predilections of employers, this is also hard to achieve. Most of the effort generally goes into nonspecific activities like assessing and enhancing job-readiness, but skill training can be a part of this type of program in certain situations, for example, where vestibule training can be substituted for experience that is more routinely available to the majority of the population. Apprenticeship outreach programs are an example of this combination of tutoring, familiarization, and access.

Job Readiness

Whatever the exact curriculum or mix of program elements, the most common goal of youth programs is not occupational skill acquisition, but rather that combination of attributes called "job readiness." It is here that the questions about socialization, motivation, and attitudes come into their own. As a result of the shortfall in demand for workers and the large demographic bulge that we now have experienced, youth as a status lasts longer. The kinds of marginal work experiences that once seemed appropriate for teenagers are now more likely to be offered to young adults. It takes longer to get established and much longer to get promoted for all but an exceptional few. Holding a kid's job does not make you an adult with a claim to independence and the necessary symbolic possessions. The notion that success comes about by deferring gratification is clearly perceived as backwards: it is the well-off who can purchase their pleasures, even if it means incurring large amounts of debt; and it is the poor whose gratifications must be deferred in the lengthened period of transition.

Young workers, and particularly young men, are likely to have difficulty breaking into a work group. No one really likes to have green hands underfoot, and since most employers do not have structured training programs, the recruit often has to learn the ropes the hard way. The less work experience he has had, the harder it is to pick up the nuances of personal relationships, acceptable behavior, and the details of the work itself. If, in addition, there is ethnic conflict, latent or manifest, the situation is fraught with ambiguity.

Most of the youth who enroll in YEDPA programs are motivated in a general sense. They believe that if they shape up and compile a good record in the program, steady work and adult status will follow. But they find the process mysterious at best. There are so many things to do, so many rules to observe. You have to come on time, you have to dress neatly even though you may be ashamed of your clothes, you have to speak politely and, if possible, correctly. But that is only the beginning. The job you are offered may not pay very well; the working conditions may be onerous at worst or confusing at best. You are without friends or supporters, and you are likely to have trouble in discerning the exact source of your interpersonal problems. The line between kidding around and real hostility is hard to perceive; the distinction between conspiracy and stupidity often gets resolved in favor of the former, since it is hard to believe that the people already on the job are not in firm control of the situation and of themselves.

Meanwhile, in the program or later on the job, other things are going on. Someone in the family is seriously ill; the babysitting arrangement falls through; there is some trouble with the law--a warranted or unwarranted arrest, a violation of probation. The welfare authorities have called you in to show your papers on an eligibility question. And so on. The idea that program participants are trouble-free youngsters whose attitudes and actions are self-determined is absurd to anyone who has been involved and who knows that trouble comes in bunches.

The fewer resources you have, the longer it takes to get them together to meet one or another of life's problems. It is a hard situation in which to make plans. Yet most people have plans, and the energy they exhibit in coping and surviving is remarkable. Until they demonstrate their complete incorrigibility, they are entitled to be treated with respect. We need to worry about our own motivations as well as theirs when we make judgements about the extent of their "socialization."

There are always some program participants whose only motivation is the pay or the stipend and for whom the program is one of many temporary stopping places. But the society is replete with rip-off experts, and the poor and the unemployed can be expected to have their share. The majority buy the harsh judgements of the bottom line, and they want to buy into the system that allegedly produces it. Basically, what the program does for them is provide some credentials for entry; separated from the stigma of their group, individuals can be certified to be able and willing.

Unfortunately, the places to which they are sent are not equally susceptible to certification. Employers can make use of the most unlikely material if they have to, but in the private sector at this moment in the cycle, they can choose what they think of as more malleable stuff. The talk of an "underclass" has frightened them as well; if your average clients come from that menacing part of society, who would want them? Even for low-paying jobs, there is often an available alternate work force among housewives, moonlighters, and new immigrants. In the public sector, in PSE, for example, the resistence to inexperienced youth is dealt with in a different way. The most insulting is to permit people to draw their pay without doing a job, but it may seem the easiest way to deal with extra bodies who just seem to get under foot.

Here, then, is the basic asymmetry of the situation. The demand for labor is not great enough to incorporate the youngest, least trained, and least experienced people into the regular, full-time work force, and if they are there no sufferance, they can expect to be given a hard time. Since program managers, for their part, are operating without full control of the situation, they exhibit an understandable tendency to go to some lengths to make their clients fit some prescribed mold. They may fail, and the client then is lost, either metaphorically or actually. But what if they succeed? What are the promises that can be truly kept?

Realistic Program Services

First, the promises should be honest. An 18-year-old who is placed on a job may do well to gather some experience that will make the next job more rewarding. The idea that career-type placements occur at this age does not conform to what we know about the labor market. Insofar as getting established is a process rather than an event, it would be helpful if the agency were in a position to offer certain ongoing services. Given the range of difficulties that can be encountered, help in getting a job may have to be followed with help in keeping it. The best situation is to have constructive supervision in the workplace. But if the employer fails to provide it, and if the new worker finds neither friends nor mentors to help in adjustment, then the outside agency has the obligation to help the client to interpret what is going on.

The person who completes a program should feel free to return for subsequent advice, information, or more specific types of help. We already have a public agency that is supposed to provide ongoing placement service, but its weaknesses are not unique. Trying to duplicate its service is likely to lead to the same kinds of problems. What can be offered, however, is ongoing information about the local employment scene, about further training opportunities, about job-search methods, and a general understanding about negotiating unfamiliar parts of the system. There is a lot that the young of all social classes do not know about the world.

In the best of all possible worlds, people would be drawn into work because they would feel the importance of their contribution. But this is not the best of all possible worlds. After a certain period of steady work, we become conditioned; most of us wouldn't know what to do without the structure that a job provides. Furthermore, we tend to meet the minimum requirements of the job when we have something to lose--steady work under bearable conditions at decent pay. In the current world of work, that situation takes a lot of people a lot of time to achieve. If we see the programs we operate as part of the process of keeping people afloat, rather than as a one-time preparation for the rest of their lives, our goals will be more modest and more real.

TRAINING AND MOTIVATION OF YOUTH

by

George R. Quarels
Board of Education
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A Philosophy of Occupational Training

In August 1977, funded under Part C of the Vocational Education Act, the Comprehensive Occupational Education Research (COER) Project in New York City was completed. Volume I of the final report contained the following statement of philosophy:

> All individuals should have available to them programs of occupational education which will facilitate decisionmaking about future careers. Persons of all ages should be provided with opportunities which will foster their personal career development. Such career development activities should develop understandings of the world of work and should provide for occupational awareness, occupation exploration, preparation for employment and job progression...
>
> Every individual should have an opportunity to develop positive attitudes about the social significance of work and should be provided with experience which will develop and expand occupational aspirations. Educational programs should be provided which will make it possible for every individual to evaluate interest, aptitudes and personal needs related to broad occupational goals.
>
> Every individual should have access to quality programs of occupational education designed to provide skills and knowledge necessary to enter and progress in recognized occupations and/or in advanced educational programs. Access to such programs should not require commitment to participation in an extended sequence of programs, but rather, open entry into specific training modules that can provide specific skills for employment or continuing education consistent with the individual's needs and capabilities. Career counseling and placement services should be available to anyone regardless of the time of their entry or exit from occupational education...
>
> Finally, it should be recognized that the education system needs to bring together all the facilities and resources of the geographic area to create comprehensiveness in its programs and services.

This philosophy, which is directed toward service to the individual, permeates every program and activity within the Center for Career and Occupational Education of the Board of Education, City of New York.

Youth: Willing but Unable

A draft paper by the American Vocational Association (AVA) dealing with youth employment points out that "the most pressing manpower problem of the late seventies appears to be school-to-work transition of the nation's youth. Although not isolated from other employment problems (e.g., the underemployed adult), youth unemployment has reached dangerous proportions in terms of scope and long-term effects. No longer confined to a few pockets in the largest cities, youth unemployment and unemployability is spreading across the rural areas, towns and cities of this country. The middle class suburbs have lost their immunity against unemployed, alienated, aimless youth, and high-socioeconomic status no longer guarantees a respectable career."

The same paper points to six factors that appear to be major contributors to youth unemployment: lack of basic skills, employability skills, job skills, and experience; government and educational policies; and the availability of jobs. As one examines these factors, it becomes apparent that some of the responsibility for youth unemployment rests squarely on the shoulders of our school system. No longer may educators view the primary responsibility of schooling as preparation for more schooling. As more parents, business/industry/labor, and students--especially students--are declaring youth unemployment to be unacceptable, preparation for work is becoming a main part of the educational mandate.

The New York City experience provides strong evidence that youth want to work. For example, an announcement by the youth employment coordinator stating the availability of five hundred jobs for eligible youth brought out two thousand applicants, who stood quietly for hours in a rainstorm hoping to be fortunate enough to be among those chosen. A recent study in New York City on "Part-Time Enrollment Needs of In-School Youth" by the Educational Planning Institute (EPI) revealed the following:

1. An overwhelming majority of New York City high school youth do not have part-time jobs, and an even larger majority of those who do not have part-time jobs want one.

2. While the largest percentage of all racial groups do not have, but want, a part-time job, the percentage of whites who do have part-time jobs is larger than the percentage for blacks and Hispanics.

3. Within racial categories, the number of males and females holding part-time jobs differs, with Hispanics having approximately equal proportions of males and females and blacks and whites having more males than females.

4. Most job holders travel less than one-half hour one way to work; however, on an average, blacks and Hispanics must travel further than whites. Most job aspirants state that they would be willing to travel between a half-hour to an hour one way.

5. All students who do not have, but want, jobs express a high level of aspiration for jobs. However, blacks and Hispanics express a higher level of aspiration than whites.

6. Students who do not have, but want, jobs appear willing and eager to attend instruction in how to find part-time jobs or undertake other activities and efforts that would be incumbent upon them in order to obtain part-time jobs.

7. Students express a strong belief that schools should accommodate the part-time work needs of students by permitting early dismissal and by allowing academic credit for part-time work experience.

The results of this report by Mrs. Anita Moses, Director of EPI, clearly contradict statements such as "they (inner city youth) don't want to work;" and "most jobs are held by females among minority youth." Students want to work. They also want quality programs.

Specific Strategies for Developing Effective Training Programs and Motivational Activities

Program administrators should consider including some of the strategies listed below in the design of training programs and motivational activities. These strategies have produced successful programs for inner city youth in New York City.

- Early implementation of a career employment experience will assist in the development of those attitudes and skills necessary for the transition from school to work.

- Preparation for employment must encompass the full complement of job-readiness skills--attitudes, behaviors, knowledge of the job market, job-seeking and job-holding skills.

  --These skills should be introduced in the intermediate schools, in a developmental sequence, institutionalized, and supported by the appropriate curriculum materials and staff preparedness.

  --Communication skills, computation skills, employer-employee relationships, peer relationships, attitudinal and behavioral modes necessary for getting and sustaining employment must be emphasized in this process.

  --Appropriate time and credit should be allocated for this process on a regularized and institutionalized basis.

- Individualized career plans should be developed, on a system-wide basis, providing direction and purpose to each student, based on individual student potential.

- Career experience centers should be developed on a system-wide basis and should be supported at both the local and Federal levels.

  --These centers should provide the following services; intake and assessment; individual counseling, career interest and aptitude testing; diagnostic and prescriptive service; job-readiness skills; job development, referral and placement; follow-up, a career information system. High risk students who encounter difficulties on the job or require reinforcement in any one or more of the service areas may be "recycled" at the career experience center.

  --Reinforcement may be required in such areas as "life skills training," academic or skills remediation, or redefinition of career goals.

- Expand staff development services and support to impart knowledge and awareness necessary for the institutionalization of employment readiness developmental programs, job development techniques and strategies, placement, and followup. Teachers, counselors, and other staff persons require training in the above mentioned skills areas, both on the pre-service and in-service levels.

--Implement industry-school personnel exchanges to assure consistency of training practices with employment standards and requirements.

- Mandated life-skills courses that focus on nutrition, health, alternatives to premature pregnancy, consumer/homemaking, and parenting are vital if students are to cope in the "real world."

- Implement the concept of career education beginning in the early grades with awareness, exploration, decision-making, self-awareness and career development activities throughout the educational experience.

- Implement programs designed to eliminate sex stereotyping in occupations in conjunction with the career education experience.

- Local administration of vocational programs should focus on comprehensive planning (e.g., establishing goals that are endemic to the various occupational disciplines), program development that links the expertise of these disciplines, and establish needs without regard to sources of funding.

- Include placement and followup as an integral component of all program design.

- Establish meaningful outcomes as a result of completing the program, i.e., unsubsidized employment, post-secondary education, or further training.

- Maintain well defined processes of program monitoring and assessment for program correction and readjustments as necessary. Ongoing program assessment activities represent formative evaluation processes.

Programs That Work

In New York City the in-school Youth Employment and Training Program (YETP) has proven to be an enormous success, as attested to by third-party evaluators and citizens monitoring groups. This program has made it possible for more than 2,000 disadvantaged and marginal-learner high school youth to earn a minimum wage while acquiring on-the-job learning. The figures for the fiscal year 1978 reveal that, of the program completers, 74 percent were positive terminations: they were employed in unsubsidized jobs, continued their education on the post-secondary level, or went for further training in other programs.

1. Career Experience Center (CEC). The CEC is the central hub for all in-school YETP activities. All services occur at this site, which allows for closer coordination and management. CEC components include:

- Intake and Assessment
- Career Guidance and Counseling Services
- Career Employment Experience
- Job Placement and Development
- Field Site Monitoring
- Career Plans
- Job-Readiness Skills
- Computerized Career Information
- Medical Services
- Consumer Education
- Linkages to School Programs
- Payroll

The in-school YETP, with its many services through the CED, stands as a model for New York City, as we strive to overcome the previously mentioned factors that contribute to youth unemployment--lack of basic skills, employability skills, job skills, and experience.

2. Renovation Projects. At three sites in New York City, students of the Youth Employment and Training Project are rehabilitating buildings. At one site in the South Bronx, 30 students of the building trades of Alfred E. Smith High School are working on a Sweat-Equity project to rebuild a neighborhood.

The Adelphi Street Project involved the building trades skills of 30 students at George Westinghouse Vocational and Technical High School. Students were paid with YETP funds to rehabilitate an abandoned building in an area of urban renewal in Brooklyn. VEA funds provided tools and supplies; community sponsors included the local church, Sweat-Equity, and the Williamsburgh Savings Bank (mortgage backing), with the Brooklyn Union Gas Company contributing the utilities. The four renovated apartments have already been rented to local residents. All participants benefitted.

The third site is a redevelopment project on Staten Island called the Snug Harbor Cultural Center, in which the students from Curtis and McKee High Schools are helping to convert an abandoned retirement home into a neighborhood haven of culture and recreation. You have to see these students at work! Their enthusiasm is enormous, and, according to their instructors, they are learning things they could never learn in a school building.

3. The Pisces Project. Acquired from the Federal Government, the Pisces is a vessel that has been reconstructed with VEA funds for training in marine technology. Students assigned to this vessel were employed on a New York Harbor environmental research project in collaboration with Columbia University. Skills acquired in the VEA-initiated instructional program were applied to a paid and valuable research project, with benefits accruing to all participating agents.

4. Education through Private-Industry Cooperation (EPIC). A one-year demonstration program of Education/Private Industry Cooperation involved the private sector with schools to help students learn about the economy and prepare for careers. It encouraged business and labor representatives to visit schools as speakers, offer jobs to students, and cooperate in other ways; at the same time, it encouraged students and teachers to make connections between the work world and all curricular areas. The central services were based at Open Doors, an existing school/industry service sponsored by the Economic Development Council of New York City and the New York Alliance for Business.

The program had two phases. During Phase I, outreach, students canvassed employers to find those willing to cooperate with the schools. During Phase II, students explored work sites developed in Phase I, and students and staff made long-range plans for summer jobs and school visits to industry. As a result, 57 youth were employed in summer jobs.

EPIC was funded by CETA youth employment, under a grant to Open Doors/Economic Development Council. Many other organizations are also participating, including Youthwork, Inc., Washington, D.C.; the New York City Department of Employment; and the New York City Board of Education.

5. Learning to Earn, Learning to Spend. A special course has just been developed for economically and scholastically disadvantaged students to learn how to earn and how to spend as well. The program's purpose is to offer consumer education to in-school youths who are participating in paid work experiences, specifically in the Youth Employment and Training Program (YETP). Many of these youngsters were receiving their first pay checks spending them quickly and foolishly. Funded by the U.S. Office of Education, the course is designed

to help students rise to an improved level of living by learning money management--principles to apply in the purchase of food, clothing, housing, transportation, child care, and health care; consumer rights, fraud and redress; and legal rights and protection. The expectation is that other skills such as math and reading will be reinforced as well.

6. The After School Occupational Skills Program. Offering training opportunities in most occupations on an open-entry, open-exit basis, this program is available to students after the regular school day ends. Since about 10,000 youths attend on a voluntary basis, the hunger for skills training is obviously there. In addition to providing skills training, the program makes a commitment to youngsters completing course work to provide them with a work experience so that they will have an opportunity to apply what they have learned--a critical element of educational effectiveness.

7. Shared Instruction. An additional 2,500 youngsters take their academic work in their home school and travel to a vocational school for skills training. Interestingly, many students expressing an interest in skills training do not know what they want to learn; they know only that they want to prepare themselves for the working world. Such students are assisted by counselors in selecting a particular course. Once a student makes a commitment to complete the course, he receives class credit for doing so. The Shared Instruction Program has expanded its guidance aspect this summer by providing students with a variety of hands-on experiences through the After School Occupational Skills Training Program. This cross-fertilization of programs makes possible further student experimentation while maintaining the important counseling component to assist students in making career-related decisions.

8. Search, Identify, Follow-Up Training (SIFT). Targeted toward potential drop-outs, this counseling program offers a variety of experiences, including awareness activities, decision-making, values clarification--all to help the student to see the importance and relevance of remaining in school. Students are assisted in selecting an occupational training course offered through the After School Occupational Skills Training Program. Once again, the open-entry format of the program enables students with special needs to acquire skills training.

9. Project to Reduce Educational Sex Stereotyping. The school system recognizes its responsibilities to free our youngsters from stereotyped expectations of what contributes an appropriate occupational choice. Through this program, we are offering counseling to high school students to assist them in selecting skills-training courses based on their interests and abilities. Junior High School youngsters also receive assistance in the selection of non-traditional vocational high school programs.

10. CABLES. A unique project that brings together the businesses, unions, schools, community organizations, and service agencies of a neighborhood, the Community Association of Business, Labor, Education and Services (CABLES) contributes to the economic growth and health of Brooklyn. CABLES will assist local employers with their employment needs to the extent of providing specifically tailored training programs. Another of CABLES' priorities will be to develop awareness of the world of careers in the elementary and junior high schools, so that students will be motivated to develop all their skills. CABLES is an outgrowth of the Association of Business, Labor and Education (ABLE) which is a city-wide project aimed at collaboration between industry and business in the city and the schools. Where ABLE focuses on the entire city, CABLES will concentrate on the area of Brooklyn that falls within specific geographic boundaries.

What is Needed Now

There are many, many more programs within the New York City School System that are equally effective. Despite the extensive vocational program offerings and the very large student registers in these programs, the existing system cannot accommodate all of the students who apply for the vocational programs. There is a need to update and expand training opportunities within the inner cities. Federal and state resources are required to support the cities in their efforts to provide training and support services to meet the needs of inner-city youth. Instead of one career experience center, we need five in New York City. Physical plants and programs must be redesigned and redirected. Our comprehensive and academic high schools need and want to offer more courses that prepare youth for the world of work.

SUPPORTIVE SERVICES:

A CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

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The Failure of Human Service Industries

Disadvantaged youth are not different from any other youth. In fact, in the things that he or she wants and needs, the inner-city youth is not different from you and me: We all expect and need to enjoy good health, full intellectual development, interpersonal skills and support, rich life activities in work and leisure time, and a positive environment. However, research in the area of delinquency shows quite clearly that most of these youth labelled "hard-core" by politicians, policy-makers, and program operators:

- are outside the scope of adequate medical care;
- are three to five years behind their potential in education;
- are suffering from destructive personal, family, and social pressures;
- have few or no realistic career goals; and
- live in oppressive environments.

Our collective tax dollars support enormous industries that are supposed to work on these problems, individual by individual--our schools, mental health centers, and employment programs, to name a few. A critical analysis of these industries shows that they are often not solving problems but are themselves, in fact, central to the perpetuation of those very problems they are mandated to address.

For example, nearly every "community" mental health clinic operates as if it were in Vienna, treating voluntary, verbal, motivated neurotics on an hourly basis. Where is the outreach into the community, the willingness and commitment to deal with people where they are when they are hurting, in a way that they can hear and relate to?

School systems kick out youngsters who don't fit or, more ironically, suspend the troublemaker and habitual truant, thereby severing ties with the population that most needs their services. And CETA generally runs a "please don't riot" program by handing out chump change for meaningless work. In short, these systems are careful about selecting their clients: they only work with those people with whom they can succeed--people who will make the statistics and the administrators look good to *prove* that their programs are successful. Until these human-service industries can face their real responsibilities--serving all who need to be served, serving especially those who *most* need to be served--nothing short of duplicating all their services will ever make a difference.

The Basic Principles for Successful Programs

Providing youths with whatever they need to succeed in work and to fulfill their potential is not a one-sided process. And because youth have the potential to play a very important role in the solution of problems affecting their lives, whatever is developed should attempt to adhere to certain basic principles.

1. *Participation*. If we have learned anything from our attempts at social change in the last century--especially in the last two decades--it is that we must involve people in the decisions and activities that affect their lives. This active participation (versus passive recipiency) for youth must include planning, organizing, implementing, and evaluating those programs and projects serving them.

Youth in need have been help*ees* all their lives. Many of them will give you their Social Security number before they will say "Good Morning." They have always been done *to*. Most are refugees from other local and state helping systems. Thus, we must, to the greatest extent possible, allow them to participate in the design and administration of their own treatment plans so that they can develop the critical sense of being active agents in the making of their own futures.

In addition, and by definition, participation means doing something *with* someone else--in this case, adults. The temptation to simply abdicate any and all adult responsibility must be resisted. Adults who work with youth in school, work, and other community settings must be skilled generally, but especially organizationally and interpersonally, if they are going to be able to open opportunities for young people to work, provide guidance in order to enhance their learnings, and set positive and firm limits in order to insure, as much as possible, that individual youth are and feel free and safe to experiment, grow, and learn.

2. Learning. The United States has the greatest, most ambitious, and most well-funded educational system in recorded history. It is no secret that it is not, however, effective with a large and growing number of young people. Questions of basic-skill development, relevancy, and methods arise continually, as battles rage within the educational industry, and between that industry and the community.

It is clear, however, that large numbers of adults and young people are demanding educational experiences more closely related to life experiences; that the learning process be opened up, demystified, and made part of the community's overall life; and that learners be able to use work experiences as vehicles for learning, for which they receive credit and earnings.

3. Earning. As with any form of work, how much you get paid is very important. The world of work, into which we expect all young people to enter, provides two gratifications: satisfaction and money. As we encourage young people to learn through doing, and to do things that have personal and intellectual meaning, it is critical that they receive a fair wage for that work. The work could include research studies conducted in schools, private-sector employment, public-service employment, etc.

4. Contributing. Youth is a time, ordinarily, when energy and idealism abound. Unfortunately, opportunities to harness these attributes are few. Young people are an important natural resource in the school and in the community. Their work--in addition to providing opportunities to participate in their own life situations, to learn skills and knowledge about their world, to earn money--also enables them to fulfill the need to be needed, to be appreciated, to, in short, contribute.

5. Failure. The needs of troubled youth are, indeed, the same as our needs: attention, support, love, skills, financial security, and meaning. But most of these youth resist help, either through acts of overt hostility or by withdrawal and flight. Skilled professionals who want to help often bring a reminder of the failure in those they are helping. Helpers must anticipate and be prepared to deal with the resulting fear and anger.

6. Limits. Most of these kids are submerged in chaotic situations: meals are random events, parenting is inconsistent, and school is attended occasionally; the tumult of street/peer life is the one constant. These kids need programs with clear purposes and fully comprehensible component parts. The youth must know that their behavior has implications--that there are rewards for positive behavior and sanctions for negative behavior. Clarity of structure is new to most of these youth. Many will resist it; some will welcome it. All will test it.

7. Nurturing. Troubled youth have received little consistent caring: most have seen loved ones die, depart, or disintegrate. Their emotional investments in people have yielded meager returns, so they are extraordinarily wary about investing in--trusting--anyone. Yet while they fear emotional entanglements, their need for such relationships is great. Programs should, therefore, strive to provide a nurturer--be it a student, a volunteer, or a counselor. Ideally, of course, the nurturer should be a member of the youth's immediate or extended family. All youth would prefer that a parent or relative, rather than a paid social worker or program employee, be empowered as the significant helper. The program that can train a blood relative to be the prime nurturer gives the youth an enduring gift.

8. Deferred Rewards. One of the most fundamental issues that a program must grapple with is the time sense of troubled kids. They usually cannot see beyond their immediate, pressing needs. Get what you can today; no thought for the future. After all, how can you worry about getting a GED when you're hungry or fearful of a certain beating from your drunken father? A basic characteristic of upwardly mobile people is their ability to defer gratification; they do not have to have something immediately, for they know that there will be an eventful reward. A good friend of mind, a black man who once administered a Job Corps center, understood this time sense to be the central problem of the youth in his care. To help them develop an extended sense of time, he paid his students fifty cents for each lesson they completed. Initially, there would be several pay periods during the day. After the students reached a certain level, payment would come at the end of the day and, before long, at the end of each week. Finally, he would tell the advanced students that there was simply no more money--that the center's limited funds had to be devoted to the newer, unmotivated youth--and that they were free to drop out. By that time, though, their motivation had shifted subtly from earning money to acquiring a GED. Almost all his students remained to complete the course. Thus, he not only imparted a basic education but also implanted the skill of preparing for the future.

9. Meaning. Youth need to feel needed and appreciated. This is especially true of those youth who view themselves as being on the edge of society, who have had few, if any, positive experiences. There have been astonishing results when tough, delinquent kids are given the opportunity to work and to return a portion of their earnings to their victims. Ostensibly, such restitution programs say, "You are responsible. Pay back." At the same time, the underlying message is, "You are a person of worth who has something of worth to return to the victim or to the community." Perhaps prerequisite to learning a skill is a sense of self-worth, a sense of being needed by the human family, of, in fact, being a part of that family. Work

coupled with restitution can produce awesome results, as evidenced in programs where the toughest of youths can be found tutoring younger kids, helping the elderly, and performing community services.

10. Culture. Most troubled youth emerge from a culture that is foreign to us. We have probably lost untold thousands of kids crying out for help simply because we did not take the time to understand their language--to understand what really was going on. We must properly link our helping mechanisms to their needs.

Baffled by a 57 percent dropout rate at this center, my Job Corps friend decided to walk through the intake process (actually he faked his brother as an enrollee). This is what he discovered: To save money, the youths were brought into this particular center on night flights. Since most of them had never been on a plane before, they did not know that the food was free (and most, therefore, refused it) and that bathrooms were available. When they arrived, tired and hungry, they were met usually by weary, white counselors. They were assigned to rooms randomly (room #345), and did not know what or who was above or next to them. The kids were turning around to flee almost as soon as they arrived. The director's subsequent actions reduced the dropout rate to under 10 percent: All kids were flown in during the day; they were fully briefed prior to the flight about food and bathrooms; they were met by staff and kids; they all started off in low-number orientation rooms and were walked through the entire camp (especially the rooms) on the first day. By his creative understanding, his resource--the Job Corps Center--was properly accessed by many more youth. All program operators should so examine their dropout rates for possible cultural oversights leading to unmet needs.

Programs

Obviously, programs will not do much in and of themselves unless they match the proper youth with the proper resource and are attending to many of the principles enumerated above. A range of approaches are needed for troubled and hard-cord youth--opportunities which are not always considered by employment and training personnel.

- Independent Living, for older youth, provides an apartment and job. Caseworkers usually counsel the youth and monitor his ability to function in a normal community setting.

- Foster Care in homes includes continuing casework for the home and for the children in it. The ratios range from one worker for five kids to one worker for seven.

- Intensive Foster Care involves home finding, training, and a full "day program" for the child. An alternative structure provides for a full-time worker with no other employment to live with the child and provide a full, structured day program. A further variation has two houseparents and from one to three children with a small supplementary staff pattern, but not enough to provide one awake staff around the clock, seven days a week.

- Boarding Schools are full-time educational or vocational-educational programs that are certified, with more than 20 children in residence. The schools offer limited counseling and psychological testing and some clinical services. There is a high ratio of students to staff. Very few custodial/recreational staff is provided.

- Group-Care Facilities with eight to twenty children and a ratio of three staff to five or fewer kids may or may not have educational programs. There will be one social worker or psychologist on the staff and usually a consulting clinician. Children usually spend the day in the community at jobs, school, or in recreation.

- An Institutional School, of more than 50 children, offers counseling services and psychological testing in a structured clincal program, with some licensed professionals and a low ratio of students to personnel (in comparison to a boarding school). The program explicitly accepts troubled children, and most referrals come from State agencies. It offers a complete educational or vocational-education program, certified by appropriate State agencies.

- Specialized Group Care has a unique treatment modality (e.g., a drug program or a program for teen alcholics). Staffing patterns may vary significantly from that of a structured group-care facility. Staffing may vary according to program design and needs. Because of their uniqueness, each program is rated as being individual and meeting specialized needs of the child.

- Structured Group-Care residences have a higher degree of isolation from the community. Education or job programs occur in the house. The program has developed therapeutic milieu, with a full system of rules, group meetings, and continuous reinforcement. Some residents will go to school in the community and have jobs, but fewer than in other group-care models.

- Shelter Care, usually in a YMCA or some other building that can meet institutional fire safety codes, accommodates 10-25 children per program with a full staff pattern supplying awake coverage 24 hours a day, seven days a week. The ratio is three staff to five kids. Recreational programming is heavy, with frequent expeditions requiring considerable staffing; and some education and clinical services are provided. Settings are open and placement is temporary, as appropriate for runaways and light-detention youth.

- In Structured Mental Health Group Care Facilities licensed clinical personnel direct a structured therapy program that embraces all parts of the lives of the resident. The staff ratio is lower than for ordinary group care, and a full educational or vocational program is included.

- Psychiatric Hospitals are licensed as such by the State.

- Diagnostic Programs provide specific diagnostic testing services for individual clients.

- Counseling/Casework Services, in which a counselor maintains contact with the youth, family, police, courts, and schools, involve sophisticated clinical therapy. The aim is to modify or adjust, but not control, behavior. Daily contact is desirable but not required.

- Work Experience programs teach good work habits and job placement. Differing from vocational training, work experience is primarily designed to keep the client working in order to gain a salary and develop work habits.

- Vocational Training is a formal training and work program designed to prepare the youth for a specific trade or type of employment.

- In Family Therapy/Counseling, a trained clinical therapist is involved in the total family dynamics, working with the family rather than with individual youth alone.

- Restitution programs provide the youth with an opportunity to take responsibility for his behavior and his life. He is required to meet his victim, pay in dollars for his crime, work, and plan for his future. Counseling and educational services support his efforts.

- Counseling/Education programs feature well-defined, fixed educational settings with a traditional curriculum and regular schedule, in an alternative school design. Alternative educational models abound, but they are best when linked in some fashion to the local school system.

- Outreach/Tracking is a more aggressive and intensive program than normal counseling. The casework ratio is low (1:2 or 3) and a full daily program is prescribed. Maintaining daily contact, the worker negotiates specific behavior contracts with the youth and monitors closely the youth's home, school, and community.

Selected Special-Needs Youth

The base on which youths judge themselves seems to rest on two pillars--school and family. When both of these pillars crack, trouble usually begins. Those programs that can address both of these realities--schools and families--when working with kids will greatly enhance their chances for success.

The around-the-clock care sometimes required by drug and alcohol abusers does not have to be provided in a residential setting. A tracking model--one counselor with a caseload of one to three kids--is cheaper and sometimes more effective. For those youth whose problem has stabilized, a combination of education, work, and training has proven successful. One such model is called "supported employment," in which drug abusers are given substantial responsibility in an entrepreneurial effort that they administer themselves. (The Vera Institute/Wildcat Program in New York is the prime example of this approach.)

The Vera design could be adapted to an adolescent population by augmenting the support services, increasing the degree to which the youth's family is involved in his or her treatment, and including an educational component as well as supported vocational experience. This approach requires participation of schools, private employers to assist in establishing vocational settings, drug or alcohol treatment agencies, medical resources, and probably the juvenile and probation systems. What is needed is a program design that shows how these elements can be brought together under an agency capable of performing the necessary funding and organizational supports.

Perhaps the best program venture for this exceptionally "at risk" population is the promotion of family-life courses in the high schools to prevent unwanted pregnancies and impart a sense of value to the next generation. The mother, in this situation, is not the only person at risk, for the children of teenage parents are vulnerable to poor nutrition and low birth weight, and this in turn is the most reliable predictor of future developmental lags and handicaps. Despite these known dangers, the policies of schools and vocational programs seem to lock a mother into these conditions. Schools reject these mothers or accommodate them grudgingly; vocational programs, including WIN, usually exclude them; private social-service agencies rarely assist both mother and child; public welfare agencies provide income maintenance but rarely the appropriate services.

To bring together these services, cooperation is needed among public welfare agencies, child welfare agencies, the day-care system, early childhood development activities, the schools, and the local employment and training system. Some of the promising models include programs that pair young mothers or fathers who have "made it" with others having a first child, the use of self-help clubs, working with multi-generation welfare families to determine if their problems can be addressed as a unit, and projects focusing on upward mobility.

Whether delinquent or chronic runaways, young women have always gotten the short end of the program stick. The traditional response to this population has been to lock it away. There are, however, some hopeful program signs. Temporary shelter coupled with intensive family work is one such model. Another seems to fall somewhere typical foster care, which is too intense and scary for some girls, and group care, which can be too large and impersonal. "Structured living" is, perhaps, the best term for what I am talking about: it is a parenting model housing four to five girls, which also gives attention to the natural families of the girls. Traditional foster care with a group home backup has also proven successful. For those girls whose problems are not quite so severe, volunteer work (paid, if possible) in services settings (e.g., hospitals) has shown promising results.

Mounting Programs to Meet Complex Needs

To achieve this mix of services for such troubled youth, there must be heavy utilization of available resources.

- the Mental Health Department (especially for drug and alcohol abusers)
- the Manpower Development Department
- the Welfare Department (e.g., Medicaid benefits, Title XX training money, etc.)
- education departments (there is a great deal of Special Education money here)

- the Rehabilitation Commission (especially good for handicapped or retarded youth; includes sheltered work programs; highest support OJT)
- Citizen Advocacy groups (for financial and political help and to help monitor and evaluate)
- job consortia (e.g., NAB)
- local service organization (e.g., Rotary Club, the Chamber, etc.)
- information sources (to avoid reinventing the wheel).

Whatever the program, the staff must be well trained and supported throughout service delivery. Many troubled youth are hostile, desperately afraid of relationships, and angry that they need help. They will take it out on the helper. Among their requisite skills, staff must bring--or acquire--the ability to cope with hostility, rejection, and erratic performance from their clients. To the greatest extent possible, staff should be participants in the design of their training program and their ongoing support programs.

There is also room and need for creativity in the youth service field. The aforementioned restitution idea is a good example of a simple community program in which the victim, the victimizer, and the community benefit--for all feel a part of the justice process. In addition, this program is quite inexpensive compared to other types of programs that serve chronic, delinquent youth.

Family work is another long overdue initiative. The one consistent thread in juvenile justice literature seems to be that families play the prime role in both delinquency creation and delinquency prevention. Poverty, substandard housing, and unemployment are all contributive; they are not, however, prime factors. Family strength is. Dr. Samuel L. Woodard of Howard University in Washington, D.C., has been studying children who, in spite of almost overwhelming adversity, manage to achieve academically and otherwise. His conclusions: the family is the key. Woodard spent a year studying 23 Washington, D.C. junior high school students who met his four criteria: at least one parent missing, poverty-level income, substandard housing, solid academic achievement. His preliminary findings reveal that those students he studied have a sense that their families are worthwhile and valuable. The families seem to operate as teams. Although poor, they feel in charge of their lives. Their children are loved consistently. Limits are set. And excellence is demanded.

We alleged professionals yank kids from their families quickly--often too quickly. Admittedly, not all families are viable. Some family situations are so damaging that children must be removed. But often, beneath unemployment, beneath alcoholism, lies a parent who at one time cared but who is now overwhelmed.

Troubled youth usually run home. According to Dr. Gerald Caplan, head of the Harvard Laboratory for Community Psychiatry, they run home, not simply because the territory is familiar, but often because there is something nurturing there that we professionals cannot see. They often flee to a supportive neighborhood or to a network of kin. (Minority youth, for instance, often give two or three addresses--a parent, an aunt, a grandmother.) The clan network represents a great--and, unfortunatly, usually overlooked--resource for a successful treatment program.

Family work is tough, complicated, and time consuming. Yet studies have shown that investment in family work can achieve more dramatic results in terms of success and cost savings than any other type of intervention. (See Children Today, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Nov-Dec 1976, p.9) We are professionals here and we are caring. The results of our efforts will be dramatically enhanced if we attempt to empower the family--teach the family how to negotiate the system to achieve what it needs. We must also build and reinforce nurturing skills and provide these families with support systems on which they can lean and from which they can glean advice.

It is because of the needs of these troubled youth that we have formed programs. Unfortunately, programs and large bureaucracies have a tendency to grow up and forget why they began in the first place. Institutional preservation--not youth needs--often becomes the dominant reality. In essence, we must all see ourselves simply as groups of people gathered around a problem, working toward solutions. The rehabilitation of youth is the heart of our public charge; there is no other reason for us to exist. All we do must reflect this central reality. If it does not, then we are not deserving of the public trust, and there is no reason for us to continue to exist.

ALTERNATIVE EDUCATION AND YOUTH EMPLOYMENT

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The prime concern for the educational institutions should be doing what is necessary to prepare the hard-core youth unemployed for the work world, before these young people become adult disadvantaged-unemployed -- the kind of 'social dynamite' that explodes in the form of criminal behavior, drug abuse and alcoholism, mental illness, child abuse, and general anti-social behavior, as well as increasing welfare and other social service costs. The clear answer for this group is in some way to undo the disadvantages that have accumulated from birth in the contexts of poverty, slum conditions, bad family situations, and so forth. The militant writings of alternative education advocates of a decade ago were quite articulate in indicating the public school methods and philosophy on pedagogical, psychological and moral grounds for failure to educate the children of poor and minority communities, for tracking children of the poor into dead-end programs, for treating them as stupid and incapable, and for trying to make them believe that about themselves. This condemnation was part of the general attack on the traditional methods which emphasized the depressing inadequacy of these methods. In the writings of Paul Goodman and others, the bad effects of traditional schooling were noted even for those who were clearly learning skills and even doing brilliantly, going on to first-rate colleges and becoming successful professionals. Alienation, psychological malaise, problems of identity -- all these were seen as connected to the mistaken beliefs and methods which were to be changed for the good by alternative modes of education.

Under the pressure of the current economic crunch, this rhetoric has almost completely vanished. Just getting a job seems difficult enough, and when even becoming a lawyer doesn't guarantee a good livelihood and inflation eats away at one's income, there seems to be little space for the broad humanist concerns of more halcyon days. This means that currently, the appeal of educational alternatives is as an antibiotic, so to speak. For the large majority who are not classified as either learning problems or present and future employability or delinquency problems, we can assume that the schools are doing an adequate job.

The antibiotic approach to the use of alternative education concepts and programs looks to alternative programs outside the educational mainstream as a way to help those students who have reached the age of sixteen without having acquired either the basic or transferable skills necessary to function in the labor market. Their own personal problems, due no doubt in part to their disadvantaged backgrounds, make them unable to be trained by the school system in the typically satisfactory fashion that 90% of their fellow youth experience. Whatever is wrong with them can perhaps be treated by special methods, in the form of educational alternatives. Admittedly the programs were developed from perspectives that were not primarily oriented toward considerations of saleable skills or job competence that is the main concern of any program concentrating on youth unemployment.

Some alternative secondary problems are relatively stable parts of the public school system. But many of these as well as the independent programs, are dependent on special federal, state, and foundation funding. This has meant being responsive to the varying priorities coming from government. When delinquency prevention was the focus because of the federal government's emphasis on crime, alternative school programs could get funding by pointing out their success in preventing delinquency. Agencies concerned with drug abuse prevention saw alternatives as having the capacity to deal more effectively with this problem than the public school.

Currently, the intensified concern with employment and more particularly youth unemployment has shifted the perspectives of alternative education practitioners toward emphasizing the capacities of alternative programs for increasing the current employment and long-term employability of hard-core problem youth.

Many alternative education programs express this perspective with more or less complexity. They share the basic perception that underlies the hopes of alternative education -- that radically changing the form and mood of the educational setting will provide a basis for transforming deep psychological attitudes of the students toward themselves and their situation. The positive change of attitudes toward themselves and school and work will result in improvements in the specific personally and socially harmful behaviors that are the direct concern of the various funding agencies.

Clark Abt, a very knowledgeable researcher in this area, surveyed all of the accumulated material on the problem of youth employment and the transition from school to work. He concludes that emphasis on specific job training and trying to directly improve linkages between schools and employers are not good ways of reducing youth unemployment and future adult unemployment, or of producing general improvement of employment possibilities and future productivity of labor. His perspective, set out in a recent paper prepared for the National Institute of Education -- "Public Education and Industrial Training in the 1980's" -- is that the best way to deal with the employment problem is to improve general education, basic skills, scientific knowledge, learning habits, and work attitudes, rather than investing directly in job programs or involving employers in the educational process.

This perspective matches that of most alternative education programs. Perhaps, given the direct concern with employability, success of a program is now directly measured by the number of unemployed youth who go through the program and end up employed, at least at the time when the evaluation count is made. But significant success for substantial numbers would mean the real improvement of personal attitudes, social and work skills, basic literacy skills and general understanding, and this is what successful alternative programs have accomplished, at least for significant numbers of the hard-core youth they have tried to help.

One program which has been extensively documented and reviewed by the National Institute of Education is the Career Internship Program (CIP) started in Philadelphia by Rev. Leon Sullivan and his associates at the Opportunities Industrialization Center. The program is an alternative high school for 16 to 21 year olds who have dropped out of school or are in serious risk of dropping out. The emphasis of the program is on facilitating the transition from high school to work or to further education by providing worthwhile occupational knowledge, career planning, 'work intern' experience in a variety of occupational settings, basic skills work, and extensive counseling.

The initial evaluation results indicate a significant increase in high school completion, in reading and math scores, and in rates of employment or enrollment in college and technical schools. A survey of graduates six months to a year after program completion showed 71% of the CIP interns were employed, in college or in technical school, compared to 39% of the controls. Although the result is significant, it is only fair to judge the meaning of the numbers with some caution. First, the 71% means that 29% were in fact neither employed nor in any educational program. Though considerably less than the control group, it is a high number, especially when one compares the difference in treatment between the two groups. The interns were involved in a program whose per capita expenses were considerably higher than the average Philadelphia public school spends. They had the service of a dedicated staff, new curriculum materials, personal attention, good counseling, a program which placed them in paid 'career internships', with help in job placement and possible college and technical training after completing the career internship program, and they had additional counseling after graduation. It is also the case that CIP screens applicants to admit only those with at least 5th grade reading skills and with good motivation, which leaves out the most hard core young people.

Individuals in the control group were either dropping out of high school or planning to drop out, had no special resources or attention, no individual attention and concern from committed teachers and counselors, no special placement problem or job-finding help, and so forth. And, not surprisingly, the unemployment figures of this control group are the horrendously high numbers we have heard for disadvantaged poor and minority urban youth. But we also know that if we could look ahead some years, we can predict much less of a discrepancy between the graduates and the control group. Many of the unemployed youth will have jobs when they reach 22 or 24; some will have found fairly decent jobs, even without the strong intervention of a special program. We can also speculate that the effects of the program -- like the immediate placement of interns into jobs with the help of the staff and enterprises who are cooperating with the program -- will wear off somewhat; that some of these now in college or training programs will drop out before getting a credential; that some of those with jobs will leave them and become part of the occasionally employed, occasionally unemployed group, that some will perhaps turn to the armed forces, out of discouragement with opportunities in civilian life.

Caution must be used when one attempts, as policy planners must, to extract a replicable model from a promising practice. For example, the evaluators of CIP, without using any comparative data, make lists of what they see as necessary and/or sufficient conditions for success of an alternative high school program like CIP and try to specify what is reproducible. But some characteristics of the progam, like the extraordinary leadership of a charismatic principal or having teachers addressed formally by title or calling enrollees 'interns' instead of 'students', are not characteristic of other programs for drop-out youth which have had comparable documented success. Examples of such programs are the Group School, Cambridge, Mass., and Independence High School, Newark, New Jersey -- high schools for working-class and low income youth, mainly drop-outs, both entering their ninth year of operation. Independence High is currently a Youthwork-DOL model; the Group School was chosen by HEW as one of eleven National Models of innovative programs serving youth, having been nominated by the Massachusetts Department of Mental Health and selected from over 900 nominees. These alternative schools were begun by a core group of drop-out high school students and some teacher-organizers. They have never had a single principal acting as a powerful 'educational leader', charismatic or otherwise. There has been excellent continuity of key staff people who work together collectively. Some teachers have been with the schools for five years or more. Teachers and students typically develop close and warm relations, which makes for great demands on teachers' time and energy, but which the staffs have felt was a crucial element in the ability of the programs to reach toward the deep personal aspects of the problems affecting the students.

To go below this level of generalization, it is useful to look closely at one particular school, to bring out complexities and areas of real debate that are not otherwise apparent.

The Group School is rather atypical. But because of its special characteristics, it raises some basic questions in sharp focus, including the important issue of what kinds of replicability are possible and what factors are really crucial for success.

The Group School did not follow any preconceived plan of what a successful alternative school might be. It is another "self-created' model, with the school going through considerable changes as staff and students gained experience, tried and modified various arrangements and structures, and accumulated hard-won solid knowledge. (This problem of learning by experience is very serious for alternative programs which are often not given enough time to go through some institutional 'natural history', a period of development which enables the staff to learn and mature.) The underlying principle of the 'self-created model' is the participatory democracy of students and staff. The overall governing body is the 'community meeting' in which all students, staff, and volunteers (of at least three months duration) can vote. The meeting elects members of all committees and has final power on all school decisions. The school has enrollments of 65 to 80 students and approximately 20 full time and part time staff, so the students are always the majority. The board of directors is the working administrative body, making funding and spending decisions, hiring and firing staff, etc. It is composed of 5 members under 21 years old, 4 over 21 (usually staff). The academic, activities, and admissions committees are staff-student committees, with a majority of students, elected by the community meeting.

This democratic participation in discussion and action over what the school's constitutes a vital element in the successful history of the project. The school has from the beginning served only low income and working class youth, almost all of whom are drop-outs or potential drop-outs, with all of the problems associated with this situation. The process of learning and the curriculum are intended to confront directly the sources of the problems that afflict the target population -- including poor skills, low self-esteem, anti-social and delinquent behavior, drug and alcohol abuse, etc. Like other alternative schools, the Group School staff has an analysis of the situation which emphasizes the need to improve self-attitudes as a key element in improving performance on basic skills, job and career futures, mature behavior. But the school goes farther than most in its analysis of the troubles and in expressing this analysis in teaching and counseling methods and in curriculum.

Speaking about the difficulties of growing up poor or Black or working class in America, the teachers show an appreciation of the strengths and survival skills developed by these students, officially labelled 'failures' and 'problems'; and they always try to build on the strengths of the students. They recognize the damages suffered by the students. The staff is aware of the dangers of simply reinforcing a fatalistic sense, a 'nothing-can-be-done' attitude, and works against this by actually building up the capacities of their lives. But they feel that only with a broader understanding of the social, political, and economic context of their activities can the students acquire a realistic basis for their own endeavors.

The school has always attempted to have its perspective on the relation of social issues to individual troubles reflected in all its aspects. The pedagogy as well as the content is intended not only to provide information but to encourage and empower the students, to try to repair the damages of past personal and academic experiences. The belief is that understanding the general contexts of social and cultural reality is important in motivating students to gain control of their own lives and futures. But this implies being honest about the difficulties and the obstacles, not pretending that the disadvantages aren't serious and hard to overcome. Pedagogically, this means that while social understanding and self-understanding are often crucial goals of courses and activities, whether in a history course or in the production of a play basic skills are always kept in mind. The staff learned from the earliest days of school how important the low level of academic skills was in the negative self-image that hurt so many of the students.

Underlying all of the active educational, vocational and counseling services are the human relations among staff and students. The students and staff become close and trusting. The students learn from the staff not only formal skills and material but also how to negotiate intelligently in complex life situations, how to compromise, how to tolerate ambiguity. The participatory democracy has always been an important element in developing commitment to the school, in convincing the students that whatever their past experiences with authorities in public and parochial school, hassles with the police and the courts, in this institution they are trusted with real power and participation; and the experience of the past eight years has been that the governance experience in itself has been importantly educational and empowering for the students.

The Group School program is clearly an exceptional one. Most educational programs feel obligated to present themselves in as conflict-free and neutral a language as possible. There is an inclination to phrase problem analysis and solution in the most generally acceptable way, so that just about everyone in the community, whatever one's political and social perspective, could accept the formulation. But if one wants to present an analysis of causes and contexts which is more than superficial, it is hard to avoid becoming critical of established generalities. The Group School presents a perspective that could be considered controversial. But the staff has felt that this perspective is accurate and vital for the provision of the kind of educational and therapeutic endeavors they have attempted in the school.

It would be misleading to claim that this is a successful 'model' that is easily replicable, nor would the staff make such a claim. But the important lessons of a 'self-created' model like the Group School are worth drawing out, since they have implications for the potential contribution of alternative education projects to youth employment considerations.

The aspects of the Group School that are common to most alternative education programs, successful and unsuccessful, are the general good-sounding notions that appear in every alternative school proposal. These are the principles like small size, individual attention and warm supportive atmosphere that are almost by definition unobtainable in the standard public urban high school with two, three, or even four thousand students, classes of thirty or more, counselors who are assigned two hundred students, and so on. And obviously, there are millions of students who do not acquire good skills or attitudes in these schools and who come to be considered problems, thus creating a 'universe of need' for the youth and future adult employment problem.

The factors common to alternative education projects seem quite reasonably related to the sorts of success many alternative programs have shown. On this level of generality, replicability is fairly simple. Any alternative program will attempt to effectively institute these general notions. Moreover, the wide variety of successful alternatives -- which can differ as widely as do the Group School and the Career Intern Program, while still overlapping on the key alternative perspectives -- makes any attempt to establish a more specific and concrete model unreasonable. Some schools alternate work and study periods in week-long modules, some by the month, others on a three month cycle; some combine work and study everyday. Some projects have had a powerful dominant director who seemed very important to the success of the institution; others have had collective staffs, which seemed very important to the success of these institutions. Some schools developed much of their curriculum as they went, with noticeable success in teaching basic skills and more complex content subjects; others used packaged units or hired outside consultants (like the Career Intern Program). Some programs felt that their success was related to the investigation of general social and political contexts for the problems of poverty, racism, sexism, and economic inequality. Other alternative programs have avoided any chance of conflict by sticking to conventional content and concentrating on the improvement of basic skills and giving vocational information and experience.

Since there is very little data tracing products of these programs five or more years after graduation or school leaving, it is very difficult to make well-founded statements about lasting effects and factors in programs which produce lasting effects. It would appear, however, that it is the quality of the staff, the depth of the commitment and the skills developed by experience and good thinking, that is crucial. None of the more detailed program structures explain relative successes and failures. Even the quality of curriculum materials, though indicative of the quality of the staff, cannot guarantee good results, since the best material can be badly used. The more the alternative education project gives deep understanding of the social, political and economic realities which are so important in understanding why the personal situations and problems of the students take the forms that they do, the greater the abilities of the students to make sense of their own lives and situations, to gain understanding of their own strengths and to become more effective, as people and as workers. This seems much more significant than immediately measureable results in jobs held six months after leaving the programs. Too specific attention to what looks like practical career plans -- but really are not -- can hinder helping the young people acquire more significant personal skills and understandings of the world and the self which will make the individual more effective over a whole life.

This perspective may make it hard for funding agencies, since it discourages the hope of finding replicable models than can be easily imitated with good results; it suggests that short-term measurable results may not be revealing of long-run success; it suggests vague and difficult-to-apply recommendations about finding good staffs of teachers and organizers who can show that they understand the problems of the target population and then giving these staffs long-term funding so that they might develop the necessary experience and go through the process of 'self-creation' and self correction and accumulation of knowledge and insight. These institutions should be helped in developing networks, in finding ways for experienced staffs to help new projects get started. The public schools should be encouraged to give more support to teachers who can form such institutions as part of a more varied and effective public school system. And finally, policy rhetoric can not obscure how deep-seated the problems are, that schools are not the main source, while poverty, slums, racial and ethnic prejudice, inequality and social injustice are. The schools did not create these conditions, and it is not surprising that they do little to overcome the effects. Alternative education programs have a reasonable claim to be able to confront the manifestations of these social disorders in a more effective fashion than the traditional school structures.

SEARCH FOR EFFECTIVE SCHOOLS:
THE IDENTIFICATION AND ANALYSIS OF CITY SCHOOLS THAT ARE INSTRUCTIONALLY EFFECTIVE FOR POOR CHILDREN

by Ronald R. Edmonds

Beyond Desegregation Toward Equity

Attaining educational equity in our society requires that children have access to instructionally effective schools. Our society has not yet attained educational equity, and our failure takes two principal forms: 1) many schools segregate children by race, and then deny black pupils equitable distribution of our educational resources; 2) most schools implicitly classify children on the basis of family background, and then express a preference for middle-class children and disdain for the poor. Thus, for those of us who seek equity, the most critical policy matters in public education are court-ordered desegregation and effective instruction for poor children.

There is no need here to elaborate the divisive and sometimes debilitating impact of court-ordered busing on the social fabric of many important American cities. Boston and Louisville are but the most visible of a half-dozen major metropolitan settings recently torn by the intense emotions and severe dislocation that accompany court-ordered desegregation. Opinion polls, impressionistic educational literature, and academic analyses make clear that the growing loss of public confidence in the equity of court-ordered busing is partly a function of our schools' seeming inability to effectively educate desegregated children who are poor. Moreover, there is a body of recent social science literature that virtually repudiates urban school reform as an instrument of social equity. Thus, those who seek dramatic improvement in the quality of schooling available to the poor do so in a climate of public frustration and educator dispirit. The experiences of the most recently desegregated cities are not likely to relieve public frustration or raise educator spirits.

These remarks are not meant to offer a scintilla of support to the racism that is the principal cause of most city council, school committee, and board of education opposition to desegregation. These remarks are, rather, meant to acknowledge the appropriateness of seeking alternative approaches to desegregation that will be more successful in improving the quality of instruction available to desegregated pupils. Desegregation in particular and urban school reform in general would be greatly advanced were we to articulate reliable means for improving the quality of teaching in schools that serve the urban poor.

Identifying Effective Schools in Detroit

The "Search for Effective Schools" project began by answering the question: "Are there schools that are instructionally effective for poor children?" In September of 1974, project researchers described their analysis of pupil performance in the 20 elementary schools that make up Detroit's Model Cities' Neighborhood (see Lezotte, Edmonds, and Ratner's "Remedy for School Failure to Equitably Deliver Basic School Skills"). All of the schools are located in inner-city Detroit and serve a predominantly poor and minority pupil population. Reading and math scores were analyzed from Detroit's Spring 1973 use of the Stanford Achievement Test and the Iowa Test of Basic Skills. Of the 10,000 pupils in the 20 schools in the Model Cities' Neighborhood, 2,500 were randomly sampled. With minor variation, the sample included eight pupils per classroom in each of the 20 schools. The mean math and reading scores for the 20 schools were compared with citywide norms. An effective school among the 20 was defined as being at or above the city average grade equivalent in math and reading. An ineffective school was defined as below the city average. Using these criteria, 8 of the 20 schools were judged effective in teaching math. Nine were judged effective in teaching reading, and five were judged effective in teaching both math and reading.

Having established that instructionally effective city schools can be located, we turned to the problem of establishing the relationship between pupil family background and building effectiveness. The project identified two schools among the 20, Duffield and Bunche, that were matched on the basis of 11 social indicators. Duffield pupils averaged nearly 4 months above the city average in reading and math. Bunche pupils averaged nearly 3 months below the city reading average and 1.5 months below the city math average. The similarity in the characteristics of the two pupil populations permits us to infer the importance of school behavior in making pupil performance independent of family background. The overriding point here is that, in and of itself, pupil family background neither causes nor precludes elementary school instructional effectiveness.

Despite our success in identifying instructionally effective schools for the urban poor, we recognized the limitations of the Detroit Model Cities' Neighborhood analysis. Our evaluation of school success with poor children had depended on evaluating schools with relatively homogeneous pupil populations. The numbers of schools were too few to justify firm conclusions. Finally, the achievement tests were normative, as was the basis for determining building effectiveness among the 20 schools. Nonetheless, the Model Cities' Neighborhood analysis had served our purposes well by identifying instructionally effective inner-city schools and describing certain of the characteristics of one of those schools.

Institutional Effectiveness for Differing Pupil Backgrounds

The second phase of the project was a reanalysis of the 1966 Equal Educational Opportunity Survey (EEOS) data (see John Frederiksen's "School Effectiveness and Equality of Educational Opportunity"). Our purpose was to answer a number of research questions that required a data base both larger and richer than had been available to us in the Model Cities' Neighborhood analysis. We retained our interest in identifying instructionally effective schools for the poor, but in addition we wanted to study the effects of schools on children having different social backgrounds. Such an inquiry would permit us to evaluate school contributions to educational outcomes independent of our ability to match schools on the basis of the socioeconomic characteristics of their pupils.

Summarizing and oversimplifying results, we found at least 55 effective schools in the Northeast quadrant of the EEOS. Remember than an effective school must eliminate the relationship between successful performance and family background. The schools varied widely in racial composition, per pupil expenditure, and other presumed determinants of school quality.

In our reanalysis of the EEOS, separate evaluations of the schools were made for subgroups of pupils of different races and home backgrounds. Schools were found to be consistently effective (or ineffective) in teaching subgroups of their populations that were homogeneous in race and economic condition. These schools were not found to be consistently effective in teaching children of differing economic condition and race. School effectiveness for a given level on the home-items scale extended across racial lines. The prime factors that condition a school's instructional effectiveness appear to be principally economic and social, rather than racial.

Without seeking to match effective and ineffective schools on mean social background variables, we found that the schools that were instructionally effective for poor and black children were indistinguishable from the instructionally less effective schools on measures of pupil social background (mean father's and mother's education, category of occupation, percentage of white students, mean family size, and percentage of intact families). The large difference in performance between the effective and ineffective schools could not, therefore, be attributed to differences in the social class and family background of pupils enrolled in the schools. This finding is in striking contrast to that of other analysts of the EEOA, who have generally concluded that variability in performance levels from school to school is only minimally related to institutional characteristics.

Educational Accountability

A very great proportion of the American people believes that family background and home environment are principal causes of the quality of pupil performance. In fact, no notion about schooling is more widely held than the belief that the family is somehow the principal determinant of whether or not a child will do well in school. The popularity of that belief continues partly because many social scientists and opinion-makers continue to espouse the belief that family background is the chief cause of the quality of pupil performance. Such a belief has the effect of absolving educators of their professional responsibility to be instructionally effective.

While recognizing the importance of family background in developing a child's character, personality, and intelligence, there is evidence of the existence of schools that successfully teach basic school skills to all children. Such success occurs partly because these schools are determined to serve all their pupils without regard to family background. At the same time, these schools recognize the necessity of modifying curricular design, text selection, teaching strategy, etc., in response to differences in family background among pupils in the school. Our findings strongly recommend that all schools be held responsible for effectively teaching basic school skills to all children, and there are techniques and approaches by which this can be achieved.

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